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ABSTRACT

Twenty-one American Indian women, selected from state and federal government agencies, professional and research organizations, and academic institutions, began by discussing 10 background papers (presented here in revised form) dealing with: the employment and educational status of American Indian women; the interaction of sex roles and culture in schools; the impact of boarding schools; the effect of tribal-to-urban transition; health problems and the role of American Indian women in health care; foster care and adoption of American Indian children; organizing American Indian women; and factors involved in determining educational needs. Three main issues evolved from the discussions: the lack of accurate research information on American Indian women; the impact of the federal-Indian relationship on the socialization, education, and occupational choices of American Indian women; and the need for more realistic assessment of the educational and occupational needs of American Indian women and of programs to address those needs. Participants reached consensus on 21 recommendations regarding: research topics and methodology; educational policy, programs, and finance; federal hiring practices; and strengthening family structure. Many of these recommendations, still current after four years, are beyond the scope of the National Institute of Education, hence the publication of the proceedings for wider distribution. (SB)

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Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of American Indian Women

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RC 012326

CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL NEEDS OF AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

October 12 and 13, 1976

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Shirley M. Hufstedler, Secretary
Steven A. Minter, Under Secretary

OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT
F. James Rutherford, Assistant Secretary

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
Michael Timpane, Director
Lois-ellin Datta, Associate Director for Teaching and Learning
Susan Chipman, Assistant Director for Learning and Development

October 1980

FOREWORD

The National Institute of Education (NIE) was created by Congress in 1972 as the primary Federal agency for educational research and development. It is now part of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. NIE's policy is established by the National Council on Educational Research, whose 15 members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The Institute's mission is twofold: to promote educational equity and to improve the quality of educational practice. To this end, NIE supports research and dissemination activities that will help individuals--regardless of race, sex, age, economic status, ethnic origin, or handicapping condition--realize their full potential through education.

To address the issues of educational and occupational equality for women and to identify factors contributing to the underrepresentation of minority women in education and work, NIE held a series of conferences between 1975 and 1978 to solicit the views of Black, Hispanic-American, Asian-Pacific-American, American Indian, and white ethnic women. This volume contains the papers presented at the conference on the concerns of American Indian women as well as individual and group recommendations from the participants. Included are policy, research, social, and humanitarian concerns, much of whose implementation fall beyond the mission, purview, and resources of NIE and the Department of Education. Therefore, NIE is now making them available to a wider audience.

These conferences were conceived, planned, and coordinated by the former Women's Research Program at NIE. In 1978, the administrative structure at NIE was reorganized into three broad program areas: Teaching and Learning (T & L); Educational Policy and Organization (EPO); and Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (DIP). The program activities previously undertaken by the Women's Research Program were expanded to involve three groups: the Social Processes/Women's Research Team in the Learning and Development unit of T & L; the Women's Studies Team in EPO; and the Minorities and Women's Program in DIP. Several other teams focus their attention on special topics such as women and mathematics, career development in women, and teenage pregnancy.

The minority women's conference marked the initial step in opening a dialog among researchers, practitioners, activists, policymakers, and a Federal educational agency. The actual publication of the conference reports has experienced various delays, but NIE has already acted on many conference recommendations. For instance, recent grants competitions have emphasized participation by minorities and women as grant recipients, reviewers, panelists, and as the target population in current research efforts. A sample of recent NIE-sponsored research focusing on minority women's issues is given in appendix B.

The research agenda for minorities and women at NIE has grown considerably since the first conference 4 years ago. The Social Processes/Women's Research Team is developing a research area plan that focuses on how the immediate social environment affects the learning, development, and lifetime opportunities of the individual. The Minorities and Women's Program is sponsoring programs to strengthen minority and women policymakers and researchers. In addition, many organizations, such as the National Commission on Working Women, emerged as a direct result of the conferences.

Credit for making the conferences a reality goes to Jean Lipman-Blumen, head of the former Women's Research Program, and the members of her team--Christina Hristakos, Carol Crump, and Joan Aliberti. Credit for making the conferences a success goes to the patient and devoted participants, the chairpersons, and the innumerable behind-the-scenes contributors who supplied invaluable contacts, advice, encouragement, and motivation. Rosalind Wu supervised the final editorial process. This publication is a tribute to the labors and generosity of all those people.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

According to the 1970 census, nearly 1 million U.S. citizens consider themselves American Indians or Alaskan Natives. Approximately half of them live on or near reservations, primarily in Arizona, Oklahoma, New Mexico, California, Alaska, Minnesota, North Carolina, South Carolina, South Dakota, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Among American minorities, American Indians have the negative distinction of having the lowest income, the highest infant mortality, the shortest life expectancy, and the least schooling. Nearly 70 percent live in rural areas. In addition to the hardships of rural living, language barriers, and welfare dependency, American Indians face some unique adversities: centuries of exploitation by White settlers; deprivation of their land and livelihood; and forced removal of children from their tribal upbringing. And despite numerous agreements with the U.S. Government, many of their grievances still await redress.

American Indian women have borne the brunt of these troubles and have become the backbone of their society, surviving loss of land, culture, and children. Their tale is told in these pages by those among them who have miraculously overcome such barriers. The conference participants were nominated and selected from State and Federal Government agencies, professional and research organizations, and academic institutions; they represented researchers, policymakers, activists, and students from the fields of anthropology, education, nursing, law, and other social sciences. The participants, the nature of their participation, their tribal affiliation, their current affiliation, and their affiliation at the time of the conference are listed in appendix A.

The Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of American Indian Women was held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on October 12 and 13, 1976. On the 1st day, 10 background papers ranging among the impact of boarding school education, the effect of transition away from the reservation, and the health problems of American Indians were presented and discussed. These papers provided the framework for identifying the major issues:

- The lack of valid, accurate, and well-designed research information on American Indian communities in general, and on American Indian women in particular.
- The impact of the unique relationship between the Federal Government and the American Indian communities on the socialization of American Indian women, as well as their educational and occupational choices.

- The need for a more realistic assessment of the educational and occupational needs of American Indians and the development of viable programs to address those needs.

The content of each background paper and its author's recommendations for policymaking and research have been summarized in the Chairpersons' Report in chapter III. An analysis of the authors' recommendations is presented in chapter IV, the second Chairpersons' Report. Each author revised her paper based on the discussions. The revised papers appear in chapter V.

On the second morning, the participants divided into two discussion groups, each led by a chairperson and cochairperson, to prepare preliminary recommendations. Finally each chairperson presented the recommendations developed in her group, and the entire body arrived at the set of recommendations given in chapter II of this volume.

The participants emphasized that they are members of tribal governments, as well as U.S. citizens, and that the recommendations generated from the conference should also be cleared with national and tribal groups. Although the participants take responsibility for the recommendations made in this compendium, they do not presume to speak for all Indians.

The conference recommendations were drafted 4 years ago. Four years later, the needs of these women are still urgent, their problems still critical, and their recommendations still current. These women spoke with unity and forcefulness; their message must be heeded seriously.

CHAPTER II

RECOMMENDATIONS

At the closing session of the conference, the entire group convened to draw up their final recommendations to the National Institute of Education and to other Federal agencies. The following suggestions represent the consensus of the group. Individual recommendations by the paper writers are summarized in the next chapter.

In accordance with those recommendations outlined in the syntheses of papers, the following final suggestions represent the consensus of the group:

1. Research should be initiated to develop a model for data collection, recordkeeping, and interpretation that would clarify tribal and community population classification. There must be recognition of a tribal government's inherent right to determine who are its citizens or members. For example, tribal membership cards could simplify identification and eligibility for services. Services of Federal and State Governments would be strengthened by the provision of standardized identification procedures. The section of the U.S. census pertaining to Indians then would be clarified.

2. Research on the effects of urbanization on Indian women and their families must be conducted by Indian researchers. The intent is to determine the sociological and psychological effects on Indian women and their families as they enter and leave the reservation. Results may indicate probabilities for success or failure in the educational arena. There is a need to examine levels of achievement, motivation, and learning patterns indicative of changing lifestyles. It is important to study cultural similarities, as well as cultural differences, as they pertain to variant tribal groups, communities, and individuals.

3. Research pertaining to Indian people must be conducted by American Indians.

4. NIE must allocate funds for Indian researchers to conduct an inquiry on the psychological and mental health impact of: (a) having others (i.e., non-Indians) define Indians and their characteristics; (b) the effects of relocation on Indians; and (c) identity dichotomies.

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5. Research must be conducted on the effects of intertribal and interracial marriages on Indian women and their families.

6. Women belonging to normative tribal groups deserve scrutiny. We need to acquire more knowledge about those tribal women who are maintaining their cultures and their families in spite of external assimilative pressures.

7. Tribal governments must be funded to establish embassies for the benefit of their tribal members in urban areas. The basis for such a concept is that sovereign tribes have numerous members living away from the reservations. These tribal members frequently are denied full services in education, health care, and social services. At present, Federal agencies continue to fund nongovernmental entities such as urban centers. We recommend that those agencies fund the tribal governments, which, in turn, would establish embassies for their tribal members living off the reservation. This process would abolish the circumvention of tribal governments and would strengthen the tribe's responsibility to its citizens, as well as the citizen's responsibilities to the tribe.

8. Research must be conducted to study the effects of the deculturization of Indian children who have been placed in non-Indian foster and adoptive homes. A similar study must be conducted with regard to the educational and psychological effects on Indian children that result from the practices of child welfare organizations, such as the Christian Children's Fund, Save the Children, and other groups that solicit funds for the purpose of educating, socializing, or changing Indian children.

9. Research must focus on the educational status of Indian women who are heads of households. Educational status also will be determined by marital status.

10. Increased attention must be given toward monitoring to ensure accountability in expending Indian funds. In expending BIA and DHEW scholarship monies for Indian students, large portions of such monies are distributed in universities for administration and various vague programs. Those monies should instead be directed to the individual.

11. NIE must give attention to the problems of Indian school finance and the individual student's chronic difficulties. Realistic projections must accommodate soaring population figures, as well as administrative overhead increases. Twenty-one tribes that have chartered their own colleges will encounter increased financial problems if consideration

is not given to inflationary factors, as well as to the expected population increases.

12. NIE and other Federal agencies must heed the legal requirement for Indian preference in personnel policies.

13. NIE must provide increased emphasis and attention to the financial requirements needed for long-term planning to meet the educational needs of Indian people.

14. NIE must emphasize those requirements that would facilitate the return of the mature Indian woman to postsecondary education.

15. To meet tribal goals, NIE must plan for training needs directed toward both appropriate sex education and family planning.

16. Research must be conducted to examine sexual roles of Indian men and women in contemporary tribal societies and in relation to postsecondary education.

17. Pilot research models must be initiated to strengthen the role of families to foster responsible parenthood.

18. There must be a research grant to review, develop, and disseminate options available to Indian tribes and communities that are interested in operating their own tribally controlled elementary, secondary, and postsecondary schools. Information should be available with regard to Civil Service requirements, unions and collective bargaining, and BIA policies for public and private schools.

19. There must be inquiry into culturally appropriate alternatives for governance of school systems and other education-related organizations. Is Robert's Rules of Order the only choice?

20. Research must be conducted to determine the tribally appropriate criteria for the identification of gifted and talented Indian children. Model programs for these children must be initiated.

21. It is important to determine the special education identification and programmatic needs of American Indian children who are learning disabled.

CHAPTER III

CHAIRPERSON'S REPORT: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Patricia Locke

The American Indian women who participated in the Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of American Indian Women were representative of tribes from all regions of the United States, ranging from New York and New Mexico to Alaska. Tribal affiliations included Sioux, Chippewa, Mohawk, Cheyenne, Delaware, Cherokee, Laguna Pueblo, Osage, Cahuilla-Cupeno, Athabascan, Isleta Pueblo, Comanche, Choctaw, Menominee, Navajo, and Mandan-Hidatsa.

The group was composed of women who are community activists, researchers, academicians, and students but have interchanging roles. The majority of the women are highly visible at the national policymaking level in matters pertaining to Indian affairs. At the same time, they hold positions of individual influence on their reservations and in their communities. Most are involved in academic affairs.

Most of the women attending the conference have known one another since the late 1960's. They have shared common battles and victories and thus are familiar with the historical background of contemporary issues confronting American Indians.

American Indians are legally and culturally members of tribal governments. The participants agreed that this reality must be recognized and that protocol was required in taking the final recommendations of the conference to representative national Indian bodies--the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, the National Congress of American Indians, and the National American Indian Women's Association.

BACKGROUND

Readers of this volume should be aware that the educational, occupational and research needs of American Indian women are universally thought to be almost inseparable from those same needs of the Indian families and tribes of which they are an integral part. Readers also should be aware that, although the perspectives of American Indian women are articulated in English, the thought processes of the majority of them are deeply rooted in their particular tribal languages and cultures. The dichotomous position of American Indian women in dealing with these two worlds was exemplified by the following quotation, offered from a story told by the great-aunt of one of the chairpersons:

> When we were all being shipped to Indian school, I stood on the deck with my cousin looking at the moon and comforting her because she was homesick. As she gazed at the sky through her tears, she said, "Oh, Dora, look at the moon, you know, I saw one just like that at home."

SYNTHESES OF PAPERS

The following papers provided the basis of discussion for the conference. The papers are summarized in the order in which they were given and contain the author's recommendations.

"Insignificance of Humanity, 'Man Is Tampering with the Moon and the Stars:' The Employment Status of American Indian Women" by Henrietta V. Whiteman

The discontinuity of cultural, educational, and economic life processes that exists between tribal or traditional American Indians and the dominant society, with its characteristics of acquisitiveness, mercantilism, and ethnocentrism, has resulted in an oppressive and intolerable situation for American Indian women. A sense of humanity--a respect for individuals as equals within the context of human dignity, capabilities, and potential--must be reaffirmed.

In traditional societies, each member of the tribe was employed and was highly trained and educated for a specific occupation. The Indian woman was a laborer, mechanic, craftsperson, artist, architect, farmer, traveler, fisherman, trapper, doctor, wife, parent, and often a leader. Women of most tribes are held in high esteem, especially as they mature and gain wisdom.

There has been a gradual shift of the Indian population toward a predominance of females. The 1970 census reported 149,122 Indian families, of which 17,978 had women as heads of households. Yet Indian women are disadvantaged by lack of higher education, low labor-force participation, and high unemployment rates. In her paper, Whiteman stressed that the inhuman giant of society has lost its ability to respect the vision of people.

Recommendations

- Research with regard to the educational and occupational needs of American Indian women must be conducted by, or in concert with, American Indian women and local tribal groups.

- Cultural or linguistic regions must be considered to ensure a representation of the heterogeneity of tribal women. Recommended regions are Northeast, Southeast, Great Lakes, Southern Plains, Northern Plains, Great Basin, California, Southwest, Northwest, and Alaska.

- Continued monitoring of equal opportunity laws should be directed toward implementation of positive Federal policies and programs for American Indian women.

- Career education at the precollege level must be available and must be concomitant with vocational guidance and counseling.

- With regard to funding:

Recommendations

- Assess the nature of parental involvement in schools in terms of role expectation in assuming organizational control of schools.

- Assess the nature of parenting and its effect on the phenomenon of women's activism.

- Evaluate the appropriateness of the program design of Federal services as it affects the role of Indian women in their tribal context.

- Evaluate the influence and role-model effect on Indian girls and women of Indian male and female professionals who are partly non-Indian, nontribal, or nontraditional in outlook and philosophy.

"Current Educational Status of American Indian Girls" by Helen M. Scheirbeck

American Indian women have been counted inadequately since the taking of the first census in 1790. One of the major problems with the classification system has been how American Indians have been defined. Currently, such agencies as the National Center for Education Statistics neither maintain nor analyze statistical data pertaining to Indian people. Such data are gathered for general information or for mere recordkeeping.

The 1970 census pinpointed some general characteristics of Indian people:

--The goal of the research is to develop helpful tools and information for the betterment of Indian life, first, and social science, second.

--A conscious and productive effort should be made to seek out Indian people to develop the agenda, to monitor activities, and to perform the research.

--More opportunities should be created for the collective workings of researchers to incorporate the qualities of sharing and relationship building into the research design.

--The products of research should be made available to Indian tribes, urban organizations, students, and individual community members.

- Research is needed in bringing forth the positive aspects of the acculturated urban Indian to further the collective potential of Indian community problem solving.
- Research is needed in identifying traditional religious teachings and languages to develop cultural curriculums for both reservation and urban populations.

This approach to Indian educational issues is based on Indian interests and the diversity of tribal structure, recognizes tribal autonomy and authority over internal affairs, and requires having various tribes educate their own people.

Recommendations

- Monies must be made available for Indian women to meet again the 2 to 5-, and 10-year plans and intervention strategies. These would be presented to the National Tribal Chairmen's Association and the National Congress of American Indians.
- Through program development, tribes should be assisted to develop divisions of education for the purpose of addressing immediate and long-term tribal needs.
- A regional approach to the special educational needs of Indian children should be instituted in accordance with at least 10 cultural, linguistic, and socioeconomic-political lines.
- The Office of Indian Education (DHEW) should be abolished, and a new Secretary of Indian Affairs at cabinet level should be established.
- An assessment should be made of the need for tribally controlled higher education programs, including junior colleges, upper division and graduate schools, an economic and environmental research center, a life science center, a cultural depository and living museum complex, and professional schools of law, medicine, and dentistry.

"The Status of American Indian Women in Higher Education" by Clara Sue Kidwell

--Promote substantially increased appropriations for student financial assistance programs at all levels of education.

- --Encourage implementation of federally funded higher education programs focusing on specific needed careers for American Indian women.

- --Incorporate, within NIE programing, federally funded fellowships for American Indian women, with the specific intent of preparing them for high-status white-collar occupations such as educational researchers.

o An institution designated as a "teacher training institution" should be promoted within each cultural and linguistic region for pre- and inservice instruction and the development of a data base on American Indian women in that region.

o All Government agencies serving American Indians must comply with Indian preference laws.

o NIE must ensure the involvement of American Indian tribal peoples in the development, implementation, and evaluation of programs directly affecting their economic, educational, and social well-being.

o Educational and employment planning must be tied to tribal priorities in economic and resource development.

o Research is required in the following areas:

- --What are the effects on women of present employment practices in terms of tribal values, the reversal of roles, and changes in behavior expectations?

- --What kind, number, and quality of jobs are available to women on the reservations?

- --How many Indian women are employed by the over 60 Federal agencies concerned with Indian affairs, and what is the quality of services those agencies offer specifically to Indian women?

"Organizing American Indian Women" by Evelyn Lance Blanchard

Variances in tribal philosophies have an important impact on the organizational efforts of American Indian women. The traditional and historical foundations of tribal structures, in an evolutionary sense, and such tribal-specific descriptors as behavior expectation, levels of role interdependence, social pressures for conformity, and the importance of kinship relationships must be considered.

Indian women are not visible in the forefront of contemporary women's liberation movements; however, Indian women hold positions of influence within tribes and, recently, at the national level. Some influential American Indian women's organizations are the Alaska Native Sisterhood, the Lakota Women's Organization, the North American Indian Women's Association, and the United Indian Women's Club of California. These organizations aim to strengthen the family and its tribal structure.

Blanchard believes that most past research conducted about American Indian tribes is obsolete because it was performed by the wrong people with the wrong perspective.

The author notes that the roles of men and women were "clearly defined" within the tribal structure but were misrepresented by research when placed in the same categories.

- Indians had the largest percentage of population increase of any group in the past decade.
- One-half of the rural population and 40 percent of the urban population are under 18 years of age.
- More than one-third of all Indians marry non-Indians. This high level of intermarriage occurs most frequently among urban Indians.
- The low educational level of Indians is changing. This is true particularly for urban Indians. In 1960, 28 percent of urban Indians were high school graduates, compared with 42 percent in 1970. Yet 48 percent of rural Indians have not gone beyond elementary school, and only 23 percent have graduated from high school.
- Thirty-five percent of rural Indian women are employed in service occupations, and 22 percent are employed as semiskilled operatives. These proportions are more than 50 percent higher than the national averages for all U.S. women.
- Indian families have the lowest median income of any group; at the same time, they have the largest families to support.

The overall picture indicates dispersed, small populations, confusing legal definitions, a fairly young population, expanding urban settlement, increasing female population, and more positive educational and economic development for off-reservation Indians, but not for rural and reservation Indians. Accurate baseline data are needed to plan educational programs for Indian women.

Recommendations

- Education should be viewed as a necessary skill for survival, not assimilation.

- Agencies must keep clearer records and information for Indian girls and women by age, sex, legal status, academic level, and achievement. These agencies include the Bureau of the Census, Children's Bureau (DHEW), Office of Indian and Migrant Programs (DHEW), National Center for Education Statistics (DHEW), Office of Indian Education (USOE-DHEW), Office of Education Programs (BIA-DOI), Bureau of Labor Statistics (DOL), Women's Bureau (DOL), Aid to Dependent Children/Social and Rehabilitation Service (DHEW), Office for Civil Rights (DHEW), U.S. Advisory Commission on Civil Rights, Office of Bilingual Education (USOE-DHEW), Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and National Institute of Education.

"The Interaction of Culture and Sex Roles in the Schools" by Beatrice Medicine

An Indian viewpoint must be present when designing and conducting research relating to socialization patterns and practices in contemporary Indian cultures. Indians can formulate research designs that truly reflect the quality and reality of life that exists on Indian reservations and in rural communities and urban enclaves. In the past, anthropological researchers among America's indigenous people have been predominantly European males and have viewed kinship, material culture, linguistics, and art forms from their own perspectives. Many tribes felt that native women were improper to act as "informants" to white male data collectors.

While decrying the historical and contemporary myth that stereotypes Indian women, Medicine emphasizes the Indian woman's strengths and adaptive qualities, which have allowed them to survive through centuries of coerced change and conditioning. She not only examines tribal male and female roles in the ethnographic literature but also studies the impact of cultural change relating to the learning of new sex roles and behavior expectations. In addition, she discusses the types of school and societal studies that concentrate on sex roles. She postulates a direction for future studies that would examine cultural transmission and sex-role learning patterns.

Recommendations

- Appraise the socialization process of translating and transforming experiences from one cultural base to another and the socialization effects on Indian women in terms of differing norms, motivations, and expectations.

- Examine the dyadic relationships between males and females in matrilineal and patrilineal cultures.

- Examine the female strategies for control of their domains in terms of tribal sexism.

Indian women with college degrees constituted 7.6 percent of the total American Indian population in 1970. Approximately 23,622 American Indian women had completed some college. Of that number, 5,861 had completed 4 or more years of college. Only about 15 American Indian women have doctorates.

The American Indian woman in higher education usually attends a non-BIA school. She is frequently majoring in the fields of education or social service, will be somewhat more persistent than her American Indian male classmates in completing her degree, and will probably come from a home in which English is her first language.

Kidwell has designed a questionnaire to examine factors that compel Indian women to go to college and to elicit information about motivation, sex bias, and other forms of discrimination. She noted a lack of comprehensive research information on American Indian female students, faculty, and graduates.

Recommendations

Studies should be conducted to:

- Assess Indian women's aspirations and perceptions of personal ability to attend and succeed in college.
- Assess levels of parental support and encouragement as a motivational factor to complete high school and to attend college.
- Reveal variances in tribal male-female expectations for college achievement.

"Health Problems Facing American Indian Women" by Rosemary Wood

The development of health problems and services of American Indians, from pre-Columbian America through treaties between the U.S. Government and Indian nations, forms the basis of today's Indian health systems. Indian medicine and white medicine as cultural institutions are also factors.

Wood discusses American Indian women as deliverers of health care services, while describing the need for Indian women as health care professionals, the problems faced by Indian women in health careers, the situations experienced by Indian women as students of health sciences, and conditions related to ill health peculiar to American Indian women. She considers such variables as environment, culture, and natural immunities, describing how immigrants and colonizers brought syphilis, cholera, yellow fever, malaria, typhoid, smallpox, tuberculosis, diphtheria, and measles to American Indians, who lacked immunities to these diseases.

White people always have interpreted Indian medicine ethnocentrically. Current literature by white authors can be categorized as shown in the following table:

Category	Description	Time
Magic Projected	White belief that Indians use magic and it works.	1492-1800
Magic Denied-Projected	White belief that Indians superstitiously think they use magic, but that it does not work.	1800-1930
Magic Explained-Projected or Psychosomatic	White belief that Indians superstitiously think they use magic which works in some cases, but only because the Indians believe it will work.	1930-1970
Cross-Cultural Scientific	White belief that Indians have a body of knowledge essentially unknown to white scientists.	1970-present

"American Indian Children: Foster Care and Adoptions" by Tillie Walker

Many American Indian children have been removed from Indian homes by county agencies, non-Indian social workers, and others, in response to the Social Security Act. The roles and responsibilities of State and county offices that provide social services are subject to conflicting legal interpretations.

Walker states that most adoptions have placed Indian children in non-Indian homes. Since 1958, upon initiation of the BIA-Welfare League of America contract, more than 17,000 Indian children have been adopted mostly into non-Indian homes. In 1976, the Latter Day Saints Indian Placement Program placed 23,000 Indian children in non-Indian homes for the purpose of Christian religious training and education.

Licensing is a main issue in foster care. Because of poverty on the reservation, Indian child care facilities and homes cannot meet State standards. Some States do not license facilities on reservations; others do not recognize or honor tribal court systems. Graduates of schools of social work lack competencies to work with Indian people because of inappropriate curriculums. Curriculums should include information about childrearing practices, family structures, and ways of relating to the diverse Indian communities.

Recommendations

- Document the need for direct funding to tribal governments for foster care and adoptions. This documentaton could be utilized in amending the Social Security Act.

- Examine the characteristics of contemporary tribal lifestyles and the effect of these characteristics on women, including contemporary family structure, its fragmentation and strengths; types of role dysfunctions, such as male and female homosexuality; aspects of controls exerted by women; the nature of social control; the reward and punishment systems of child training; aspects of role modeling and significant others, such as grandmothers; and the viewing of schools as transitional institutions.

"Indian Boarding Schools and Indian Women: Blessing or Curse?" by Carolyn Attneave and Agnes Dill

Indian boarding schools have a history of nearly 100 years. Their effects and continuing maintenance is a subject of controversy among Indians and non-Indians.

The boarding school system has been based on mixed motives: first, to change Indian values, skills, roles, and beliefs; then, to civilize; and later, to attempt to educate and, sometimes, to remedy old practices.

An economical and effective way of significantly improving boarding school children's achievement and health, as well as limiting the emotional stresses associated with separation from home and family, has been demonstrated by a model dormitory project on the Navajo reservation. The Indian Health Care Improvement Act of 1976 provides for several more model dormitories to be established.

The authors asked Indian women a variety of questions, ranging from adjustment to boarding school to participation of Indian women in national affairs. Responses varied, but were characteristic of female behavior expectations from their particular tribes.

Recommendation

- Conduct research by interviewing Indian women of varying ages from disparate tribes (those women who have attended boarding schools). Engage individuals and small groups of contemporaries in reminiscences and responses to questions.

"Relevancy of Tribal Interests and Tribal Diversity in Determining the Educational Needs of American Indians" by Rita Keshena

American Indian women are tribal people and cannot be separated from their tribal identity. The author traces vacillating Federal policy through the treaties, the Dawes Act, the Merriam Report, the Indian Reorganization Act, the Johnson-O'Malley Act, Public Law 280, and the termination period. Encroachments on tribal authority and integrity are described in the context of education, including the Indian Education Act of 1972.

The average life expectancy of Indians is 55 years of age; on reservations, it is 47 years. Death rates of Indians attributed to accidents, uncontrolled diabetes, homicide, and suicide are much higher than those for all races. Information on health problems of Indian women is insufficient, however, because researchers and funding agencies fail to cooperate in the stimulation and support of scientific investigation.

Recommendations

- Investigate the reasons for health problems of American Indian women and the impact these problems have on education and occupation.
- Investigate the causes and impact of discrimination against Indian women in the health care professions.
- Survey and evaluate reasons for the insufficient numbers of women faculty and students in schools of health, nursing, and medicine.
- Develop and institutionalize in schools of health, nursing, and medicine pre- and inservice training curriculums and models for both Indian and non-Indian deliverers, who need to gain awareness of and sensitivity toward Indian tribal concepts of health.

"Transition from the Reservation to an Urban Setting and the Changing Roles of American Indian Women" by Agnes F. Williams

In the early 1950's, the Bureau of Indian Affairs instituted a policy under the Relocation Program, later known as the Employment Assistance Program. Under this policy, Indians were relocated from the reservations into major cities, such as Denver, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Dallas, and Seattle, and into smaller cities such as Oakland and San Jose. The relocation policy, however, has been considered a failure. In 1970, the off-reservation Indian population was estimated at over 50 percent of the total Indian population, but off-reservation Indians are frequent visitors to their own reservations and to those that are near cities.

Most of the current literature on "urban Indians" discusses off-reservation Indians in terms of success or failure in adjustment. Indian sociologists view the off-reservation Indian in terms of adaptation strategies.

Recommendations

- Indian involvement that reflects Indian values is necessary to any research effort based on the following assumptions:
- Develop and evaluate models for the planning and operation of Indian child welfare delivery systems on reservations and in urban areas.
- Develop appropriate curriculums that include information about Indian cultural differences for the benefit of schools of social work so that the delivery of child welfare services may be improved.
- Assess child placement programs such as the LDS Indian Placement Program in terms of the effects of psychosocial trauma on both the child and the disrupted family.

CHAPTER IV

CHAIRPERSON'S REPORT: A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Anita Bradley Pfeiffer

The American Indian participants at the Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of American Indian Women made recommendations and suggestions that are listed in the preceding chapter. This report is a quantitative analysis of those recommendations. These recommendations can be categorized by topic and synthesized according to six major themes:

- Changing roles of American Indian women.
- Indian definition, census, and need for reform.
- Economics and American Indian women.
- Education and American Indian women.
- Strengthening the family structure.
- Program funding and American Indian women.

Most of the recommendations were grouped under one of the six major categories, although some overlapping occurred. For example, most recommendations relating to education were included under the theme of education and American Indian women, although some educational problems also were mentioned in the other five categories. The following categories also contained subcategories as shown:

- Changing roles of American Indian women.
    - General issues.
    - Violence, crime, and related issues.
    - Motivation and achievement.
- Strengthening the family structure.
    - American Indian involvement in education.
    - Training.
    - Mental health.
    - Indian health and American Indian preference.
    - Tribal culture/tribal survival.
    - Reservation/urban environment.
    - Creation of a centralized advocacy agency.

CHANGING ROLES OF AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

In accordance with a variety of factors involved in the changing roles of American Indian women, the participants recommended the following:

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General Issues

- New socialization studies about Indian women are needed. In the past, most studies about Indians were made by European white men.

- Studies should be conducted on the changing roles of Indian men.

- Historical studies are needed to reflect the changing roles of Indian women.

- Studies on tribal kinship systems should be conducted to understand better dysfunctional behavior as it relates to Indian personality and character.

- There is a need to identify, analyze, and recommend ways to encourage and support mature Indian women to continue their education.

- Studies that examine how sex education and control of family size may benefit the Indian family need to be conducted.

- Studies to identify and examine the characteristics that help Indian people attain the outward symbols of success (e.g., education and jobs) should be undertaken.

Violence, Crime, and Related Issues

- The incidence of violence and crime among Indian women must be examined. Studies focusing on the incidence of crimes committed against Indian women must be conducted.

- The institutional mechanisms that affect Indian women in a supportive or destructive manner must be identified, examined, and reformed, as needed. Of particular interest to at least one participant was the incidence of Indian women being incarcerated both on and off the reservation.

Motivation and Achievement

- Studies should be conducted to examine the effect of urbanization on Indian women, especially as it affects motivation and achievement.

INDIAN DEFINITION, CENSUS, AND NEED FOR REFORM

A recurring issue throughout the 2-day conference dealt with the definition of "Indian"--the need to reform census systems and the need to involve tribal governments in determining who is Indian. Most of the discussion described the need for reform, although a few of the suggestions were posited as "research issues." The following recommendations were made:

- Indian census data collection and retrieval systems must be examined generally and specifically as they relate to the Indian female.
- The problems of determining Indian eligibility must be reviewed, analyzed, and reformed.
- A pilot research model should be established to improve on census data collection and retrieval systems for all reservation and urban Indians.
- Federal laws and statutes that govern census collection and determine Indian eligibility must be examined specifically as they relate to the Indian female.

ECONOMICS AND AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

All participants concurred with regard to the specific economic needs of the Indian family as they related to women. The following recommendations were made:

- A survey should be conducted to determine the job market and job training opportunities available to Indian women, both on and off the reservation.
- An analysis must be made to determine the types of support services needed by, and available to, the working Indian mother.
- Studies are needed to examine the effect that current jobs and job assistance programs may have on Indian women.
- Studies should be made to identify and analyze effective management strategies for tribal natural resources as a means of improving the tribal economy of Indian people.
- Studies should be conducted to encourage more business opportunities for Indian people, especially Indian women.

EDUCATION AND AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

The conference participants concurred that educational opportunities for Indian women must be broadened. They therefore recommend the initiation of the following tasks:

- Analyses of parents' roles and how they strengthen educational processes of American Indian women.

- Analyses of roles of tribal cultures and how they strengthen educational processes.
- Studies on the educational dropout rate of Indian women.
- Analyses of funding levels of educational programs for Indian women.
- Analyses to improve and expand support services for mature Indian women returning to institutions of higher education.
- Analysis and implementation of ways in which Indian women attending institutions of higher education can retain and preserve their cultural identity.
- Analysis and improvement of Indian community occupational needs to be inventoried for the benefit of Indian women.

STRENGTHENING THE FAMILY STRUCTURE

All Indian women participants agreed that the Indian family structure must be strengthened. A variety of suggestions and recommendations were offered that emphasized the need for jobs, as well as the need to increase and improve education, training, mental and physical health, and child welfare. The recommendations were:

Indian Involvement in Education

- Indian women should explore and analyze ways to become more involved in the decisionmaking processes of tribal and community development.
- The potential repercussions of altering legal, social, and economic institutions should be examined. For example, what would happen if teachers of Indian children were transferred from the Civil Service to a teachers' organization such as the American Federation of Teachers?

Training

- Indian women should explore and analyze ways to create or expand additional training opportunities for themselves.
- Indian communities should identify community needs so planning for the best training opportunities for Indian women also serves the community's best interests. (For example, some Indian women may feel it is important for them to become involved more fully in the judicial system or in education, when involvement in other areas may be of equal or of more importance.)

Mental Health

- Indian women must explore, identify, and recommend ways to increase mental health programs to meet urgent psychosocial needs, such as the problems of drug abuse by Indian women.
- Models to train Indian paraprofessional and professional staffs should be developed.

Child Welfare

- Indian women need to explore, identify, and recommend ways to improve and increase child welfare services.
- The effects of foster and adoptive care on Indian children in non-Indian homes must be examined.
- Ways to improve protective services for Indian children in such areas as child custody, law, adoption, and/or foster care must be explored and analyzed. An important part of this effort would be to identify ways that the culture of Indian children can be maintained and reinforced while they are under non-Indian custody.
- Indian women should identify and design models for the overall improvement of protective services of Indian children, such as the training of Indian foster parents and Indian foster parent programs on reservations.
- Ways must be found to "work with tribal courts and tribal governments in developing codes in relation to juvenile matters." (Model codes related to child welfare services have been developed and are being considered by some tribes.)
- Indian women should develop materials (videotapes, handbooks, pamphlets) to recruit and train Indian foster parents.

Indian Health and Indian Preference

- Obstacles that inhibit the implementation of Indian preference within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Indian Health Service and other Indian institutions must be investigated and documented.
- Case studies should be conducted, investigating how institutions implement both Indian preference policy and recommendations made to improve the processes.
- The establishment of occupational assistance centers to help ensure the implementation of the Indian preference policy should be undertaken.

- Indian women should design health training demonstration programs in which Indian health concepts are given equal status in health education curriculums.

- The effects of forced assimilation processes must be studied.

- Alternative ways to improve the health delivery systems for all urban and reservation Indians must be developed. (This will require accurate Indian census statistics both in cities and on reservations.)

- Models to train Indian paraprofessional and professional staffs should be developed.

Tribal Culture/Tribal Survival

- Curriculums for Indian students must be analyzed and various ways must be identified to strengthen tribal culture.

Reservation Urban Environment

- The impact of the environment on Indian women must be examined. One Indian woman participant said it was apparent, through a review of literature, that Indian women on the reservation were more disadvantaged than Indian women in urban areas.

Creation of a Centralized Advocacy Agency

- Indian women recommend that the National Institute of Education take a leadership role in studying ways to create an advocacy agency to relate to all Federal agencies dealing with Indian affairs. This agency would advocate for Indian tribes, groups, and individuals who have complaints about some aspect of the Federal delivery systems.

PROGRAM FUNDING AND AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

All participants concurred that there should be more program funding that will benefit Indian women. They recommended the following:

- Funding available for Indian women must be fully identified, and this information should be disseminated to all Indian people.

- The status of current training monies must be reviewed, and the following questions must be answered: (1) Where are these funds going? (2) Who are the recipients? and (3) Do these funds alter conditions for Indian women?

- Direct funding of title IV-B programs, title XX programs, DHEW human-helping services, and other Federal- and State-funded programs to federally recognized tribes must be inventoried and analyzed.

- Funding mechanisms, funding levels, and plans for implementation should be defined.
- The precedents for direct funding to tribes should be analyzed.
- Amendments to the Social Security Act should be drafted.

V. Participants' Papers

INSIGNIFICANCE OF HUMANITY, "MAN IS TAMPERING WITH THE MOON AND THE STARS": THE EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

Henrietta V. Whiteman

INTRODUCTION

American society's myopic perspective of itself as a land of equality and opportunity is paralleled by its mythological view of itself as the great melting pot of the world. A more explicit example of the faulty vision possessed by these recent immigrants to this country is this calendar year, numerically designated by them as "one thousand nine hundred and seventy six," which they are currently celebrating as the "two hundredth birthday" of this country. After 200 years, the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant peoples of the United States have failed to internalize peaceful coexistence--a concept native to this land and to its native tribal peoples. Commenting on this inability of American society to coexist peacefully, Vine Deloria, Jr., an attorney from the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, says:

> . . . name, if you can, the last peace the United States won. Victory yes, but this country has never made a successful peace because peace requires exchanging ideas, concepts, thoughts, and recognizing the fact that two distinct systems of life can exist together without conflict . . . .

This new American society, which eventually settled Turtle Island of the American Indian tribal peoples, saw these people as but a momentary obstacle to the worldwide extension of Manifest Destiny. Less resistant to the Anglo-Saxon than were the tribal peoples native to this land, the Pacific was but a step for the imperialistic giant, which perverted a less than 200-year-old American Declaration of Independence by extending a divinely ordained mandate into Southeast Asia. This nineteenth-century doctrine, manifested by the non-native conqueror-oppressor of this country, is now destined, by his initial landings on the moon and on Mars, for the outermost limits of the universe.

American Indians view this departure from the humanistic and spiritual to the technological as indicative of world destruction. More specifically, the Hopi Indian Empire, speaking ". . . as the first people in this land you call America,"[2] have assessed their traditional prophecies concerning non-Indian's technology and materialism. They have, consequently, concluded, as well as verbalized, the necessity for a concerted effort to actively seek the road to peace. Thomas Banyacya stresses this in an excerpt from the letter of Hopi traditional leaders to President Nixon:

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> Today almost all the prophecies have come to pass. Great roads like rivers pass across the landscape; man talks to man through the cobwebs of telephone lines; man travels along the roads in the sky in his airplanes; two great wars have been waged by those bearing the swastika or the rising sun; man is tampering with the Moon and the stars. Most men have strayed from the path shown us by the Great Spirit . . . .
>
> It is said by the Great Spirit that if a gourd of ashes is dropped upon the Earth, that many men will die and that the end of this way of life is near at hand. We interpret this as the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We do not want to see this happen to any place or any nation again, but instead we should turn all this energy for peaceful uses, not for war.[3]

Respect for the vision, the dream of the other person, is a unique American concept integral to the freedoms that characterize America. An understanding of these freedoms by a society should automatically and simultaneously guarantee its people freedom from oppression. Unfortunately, the white oppressor, blinded by his ethnocentric arrogance, has failed to see--much less remedy--the discontinuity that exists between Native Americans and the dominant society in the cultural, educational, and economic life processes. The conqueror must recognize that, although he conquered the peoples who welcomed him to the shores of this country, the United States of America is still the homeland of the American Indian who was the first to love this country, and who still has his tribal heritage deeply entrenched in the soil of the land.

Any projections to improve the lives of tribal American Indians in the future must include a general historical overview of traditional tribal economic views and experiences and an assessment of the contemporary economic status of the heterogeneous tribes of peoples, variously referred to as Native Americans or as American Indians, which has become a permanent misnomer.

TRADITIONAL HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

American history books, which are often culturally biased, generally record the genesis of America only 464 years ago in 1492. Furthermore, with typical ethnocentric audacity they also credit Christopher Columbus with "discovering" a new land inhabited by tribes of peoples, whom he even admired. "'So tractable, so peaceable, are these people,' Columbus wrote to the King and Queen of Spain, 'that I swear your Majesties there is not in the world a better nation . . . .'"[4]

In contrast, as recorded in their respective collective history, American Indians expressed ambivalence concerning their initial contacts with the non-Indians. As an example, Cheyenne oral history foretells the coming of the "...white--good-looking people, with light hair and white skins."[5] It was said:

> At last those people will ask you for your flesh . . . but you must say "No." They will try to teach you their way of living. If you give up to them your flesh your children, those that they take away will never know anything. They will try to change you from your way of living to theirs, and they will keep at what they try to do. They will work with their hands. They will tear up the earth, and at last you will do it with them . . . .[6]

Even with this knowledge of the future, the Cheyenne and other tribal nations were totally unprepared for the racism or the physical and cultural extermination tactics these peoples would bring to this land. They were equally unaware that the white man would tamper with what were at that time stable, economic lifestyles. The economic stability of many tribal communities prior to Anglo-European contact is expressed by Black Hawk of the Sauk and Fox:

> We always had plenty; our children never cried from hunger, neither were our people in want . . . . The rapids of Rock River furnished us with an abundance of excellent fish, and the land being very fertile, never failed to produce good crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and squashes . . . . Here our village stood for more than a hundred years, during all of which time we were the undisputed possessors of the Mississippi Valley . . . . Our village was healthy and there was no place in the country possessing such advantages, nor hunting grounds better than those we had in possession. If a prophet had come to our village in those days and told us that the things were to take place which have since come to pass, none of our people would have believed him.[7]

From Black Hawk's statement, the Sauk and Fox had a stable agricultural and fishing economy. Each tribal culture made its living in a different way; each was contingent upon the environment in which each lived, although there existed some common features in Indian economics. Some of the tribes were agrarian; others were fishermen, and yet others were hunters. Some of the tribes maintained their livelihood through a combination of planting, fishing, and hunting. For example, many of the Plains Indian tribes were dependent upon the bison or buffalo for their way of life and for food, shelter, and clothing. Clark Wissler, in discussing Indian life in general, notes:

> When we turn to the aboriginal Indians in the United States and Canada, we find a society of hunters rather than farmers . . . . So if we were asked to state the economic base to Indian living as our forefathers first saw it, we would say it was hunting. This was the main industry, the output of which determined whether the population survived, was well fed, well clothed, or lived in privation and want.[8]

Whatever the basic economy, each member of a tribal community had a role and was thoroughly educated in that role. In traditional American

Indian society each member of the community was employed and was highly trained and educated for a specific occupation.

The occupational roles within each community were geared to a human group and utilized the expertise of each individual to maximum potential. Elders saturated in life's experiences, utilized the knowledge and wisdom acquired over the ages to educate the young. From infancy on, the child was trained to be a contributing adult member of his community.

As in all societies, the American Indian woman, too, had traditional roles that required versatility. Not only was she expert in her specialized cultural area, and a partner in a marriage that required a great deal of cooperation, but she was oftentimes mother to those who were not her natural children. Mr. Wissler makes this observation of the woman in traditional American Indian society:

> . . . the Indian woman did as much to make Indian life a success as did the man. She was a strong laborer, a good mechanic, a good craftsman, no mean artist, something of an architect, a farmer, a traveler, a fisherman, a trapper, a doctor, a preacher and, if need be, a leader.[9]

In Cheyenne culture, the female is held in high esteem, for, according to their oral history, it was a woman that brought many of the traditions and ceremonies to the Red Earth People. In all American Indian tribes, the earth is as sacred as the woman and this land is viewed as the sacred and eternal Earth Mother.

A SYNOPSIS OF AMERICAN INDIANS AND AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN IN THE CONTEMPORARY LABOR MARKET

The 1789 Constitution of the United States of America, approximately 400 treaties with American Indian nations documenting treaty rights and land cessions, creation of reservations for American Indians, and perpetual reorganization of Federal/Indian structure and policy--all have maintained a unique relationship between the American Indian and the Federal Government. This relationship has been characterized by the extremes of paternalism and incrementalism, with the concepts of trusteeship, termination, and self-determination lying somewhere in between these disparate Indian policies.

What has occurred is that the white man has tampered with the lives of the American Indians. The bison, the basis of the Plains Indian's economy, were decimated. Many American Indian women are now forced to abandon their traditional roles and seek employment, oftentimes to compensate for the unemployment of their husbands. Consequently, the American Indian female has not been motivated so much by her family role as by economic pressures to provide for the family and she finds herself in a cultural conflict: joining the female labor force for economic survival as opposed to remaining with her family to maintain the oldest of American Indian tribal institutions.

Disruption of the family structures of the original proud possessors of this land has been accompanied by oppression. Native Americans have become the most oppressed of the minorities of this great American society, in which freedom and equality of opportunity is supposed to exist for all. This oppression will be illustrated by an analysis of American Indian women in the contemporary labor market.

For this paper, the definition of an American Indian (that used by the U.S. Department of the Interior) not only includes certain tribal people of the contiguous 48 states, but also encompasses Alaskan natives, Eskimos, and Aleuts. The United States Department of Labor, in its 1975 Handbook on Women Workers, utilizing 1970 census figures from the U.S. Department of Commerce and studies from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, makes the following observation of the American Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo female population:

> According to the 1970 census (latest data available), the American Indian population numbered 763,594 . . . . By adding to this figure the 34,525 Aleuts and Eskimos of Alaska, the total American Indian population was 798,119 . . . . Of this number, 405,107 were women, as compared with 393,012 men. The median age for American Indian women was 20.9 years; for men it was 19.9 years. The median ages for Aleut and Eskimo women were 18.9 and 16.9, respectively.[10]

DHEW, in its 1974 study of American Indians, differs from the U.S. Department of Labor population statistics by approximately 29,000. The former notes:

> There are 827,000 American Indians and Alaskan Natives in the United States, who represent 0.4% of the total population. American Indians are to be found throughout the United States; however, nearly two-thirds (508,000) live in just eight states. In descending order, by number of Indians, these are: Oklahoma, Arizona, California, New Mexico, Alaska (including Eskimos and Aleuts), North Carolina, South Dakota, and Washington.[11]

It has been acknowledged that the American Indian population is increasing more rapidly than any other minority group in the United States today. The publication, We, the First Americans, notes that the tribal American Indian population growth is above the national rate, and that in the 10-year period between the 1960 and 1970 census, the population of American Indians increased by 51 percent.[12] This fact alone, however, fails to account for the disparity in population figures, considering that sources consulted are based upon the same census data.

The disparity in figures ascertained by two separate agencies of the United States Federal Government are indicative of the disparity of the policies and programs affecting American Indians in a complex, contemporary socioeconomic environment. Whatever the population figure, the Population Division of the U.S. Bureau of the Census notes that there are 190,118 employed American Indians 16 years of age and over in the U.S. labor force. Utilizing a 5-percent sample of 1970 decennial census figures, the Population Division has cataloged the occupations of employed American Indians, from which the following is an excerpt:[13]

TABLE 1

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED AMERICAN INDIANS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1970*

Occupation	Number	Percent distribution
Total employed, 16 years old and over	190,118	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	18,565	9.8
Managers and administrators, except farm	7,855	4.1
Sales workers	5,973	3.1
Clerical and kindred workers	25,508	13.4
Craft and kindred workers	26,810	14.1
Operatives, except transport	34,421	18.1
Transport equipment operatives	7,497	3.9
Laborers, except farm	16,363	8.6
Farmers and farm managers	3,060	1.6
Farm laborers and supervisors	7,954	4.2
Service workers, except private household	31,215	16.4
Private household workers	4,897	2.6

*See Appendix A for detailed American Indian Occupational Listing

In descending order by job category, 62 percent of American Indians are employed in the occupational categories of operatives (excluding transport), service workers (except private household), craft and kindred workers, and as clerical workers. Only 9.8 percent are "professionals," and 4.1 percent are managers and administrators, giving an approximate total of 14 percent American Indians in high status, white-collar occupations. This leaves the remaining 24 percent of the American Indian employed population in semiskilled and low-skilled occupations.

Utilizing round numbers, approximately 25 percent of the American Indian population is employed.

The situation in Montana is an example of the employment problems prevalent on most reservations throughout the United States. The Montana Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights ascertained in 1974 that the annual income of 75 percent of Montana Indian families, a microcosm of the national picture, is less than $3,000.[14] The Advisory Committee to the Commission was informed by the director of the Emergency Employment Act in Billings, Montana, that:

> Indians live on reservations because this is their home, their natural environment, and where they wish to be. They should not have to leave the reservation to find employment. The fact remains . . . that adequate, well-paying jobs are scarce on reservations. Many jobs are seasonal, some are only part-time, and most pay wages below the cost of living for a family . . . .[15]

Among the contributing factors to high rate of unemployment are a lack of necessary skills, the seasonal nature of many jobs, the scarcity of jobs, and low wages. The unemployment figures on Montana Indian reservations as of March 31, 1973, were high, despite the presence of laws which prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of race or national origin. Such unemployment is illustrated in the following chart.

TABLE 2

UNEMPLOYMENT ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS[16]
(as of March 31, 1973)

Reservation	Enrolled members	Labor force	Percent of available labor force employable	Percent of available labor force unemployed
Blackfeet	6,158	1,208	20%	32%
Flathead	2,833	962	34%	34%
Crow	4,208	1,265	30%	27%
N. Cheyenne	2,553	944	37%	36%
Fort Peck	3,993	835	21%	41%
Fort Belknap	1,778	626	35%	56%
Rocky Boy's	1,244	416	33%	57%
Total	22,767	6,256	28%	40%

Thus, 40 percent of the labor force on Montana Indian reservations are unemployed. The unemployment ranges from a low of 27 percent on the Crow Reservation to highs of 56 percent and 57 percent on the Fort Belknap and Rocky Boy's Reservations, respectively. Since the circumstances of American Indians in Montana follow the national pattern it can be concluded that the unemployment rate among American Indians on reservations is exceptionally high, exceeding 50 percent in some cases.

Labor statistics on the general American Indian population and the reservation population have presented a dismal economic picture similar to that of underdeveloped nations. Such being the case, the U.S. Federal Government, which has a unique trusteeship responsibility to the tribes on these lands, should utilize the same economic strategies that it uses for developing nations. Only through realistic assessment of the socioeconomic conditions, concomitant with practical strategies for achieving attainable goals, can society attack the problem of geographic dislocation that confronts the American Indian in seeking employment opportunities.

Employment opportunities must be made more accessible to American Indian men and women. U.S. Government statistics reveal that the 1970 American Indian population has more women than men. DHEW states:

> There has been a gradual shift of the Indian population from one that is predominantly male to one that is predominantly female. For the first time in the 1970 Census, there were more Indian women than Indian men.[17]

Edward B. Larsh's analysis of the American Indian women's population pattern includes a statement regarding the woman's role in the family. He notes:

> The 1970 census reported 149,122 native families. Of this number, there are 98,158 with children still under 18 years of age. And of this number, 17,978 had women as the head of the household. However, South Dakota reports almost one third of families with children have a mother in charge.[18]

Eighteen percent of American Indian women in the labor force are heads of the family, compared with 27 percent for black females, 15 percent for women of Spanish origin or descent, and 9 percent for the white female.[19] As a result of the larger proportion of women in the American Indian population, greater economic responsibility is placed on the American Indian woman than on the white woman. This depressing situation is the direct result of the economic demands placed upon individuals in a capitalistic society.

Through the manipulation of power, the dominant society perpetuates its pattern of subordination of peoples of color by continuously imposing its white Anglo-Saxon Protestant value system upon the minorities. In essence, the white economic power structure is maintained through racism.

> Racism is different from racial prejudice, hatred, or discrimination. Racism involves having the power to carry out systematic discriminatory practices through the major institutions of our society.[20]

The United States Commission on Civil Rights determined that a significant segment of white society derives certain economic benefits from racism. The paramount benefit is

> . . . reduction of competition by excluding members of certain groups from access to benefits, privileges, job or other opportunities or markets. The ability to easily identify members of the subordinated group by sight is a key factor linking such reduction of competition to color.[21]

The systematic exclusion of minorities, and more specifically, American Indians, is well documented. For example, the 1969 Special Subcommittee Report on Indian Education notes the "life of poverty and despair" to which the American Indian is condemned:

> The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40 percent--more than 10 times the national average. . . . Thousands of Indians have migrated into cities only to find themselves untrained for jobs and unprepared for urban life. . . . These cold statistics illuminate a national tragedy and a national disgrace. They demonstrate that the 'first American' has become the 'last American' in terms of an opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life.[22]

The inequality of opportunity for employment and the high unemployment rates of American Indians and others also are pointed out in a report issued by the University of Kentucky, Social Welfare Research Institute. Utilizing "Public Use Sample" files from the 1970 census, a general picture of "Disadvantaged Participation in the Job Market" emerges.

TABLE 3[23]

MINORITY PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOR MARKET

	Mexican	Indian	Black	White
Labor force participation rate				
Male	87.4	76.0	81.6	88.9
Female	39.1	38.8	54.3	46.8
Unemployment rate				
Male	5.9	11.4	5.8	3.3
Female	8.8	10.7	7.9	4.7

Labor force participation data must be interpreted in light of the relatively small percentage of the Indian population of the United States. In addition, the unemployment percentage information represents those unemployed persons who are known to be in the labor force. The employment picture, viewed from this perspective, is deplorable; in effect, the American Indian is invisible not only in his country, but in the job market as well.

Focusing specifically on the American Indian female, we learn that 38.8 percent participate in the labor market, and 10.7 percent of that group are unemployed. Conversely, the white females with a much higher participation rate (46.8 percent) have an exceptionally low unemployment rate (4.7 percent). In fact, the American Indian female unemployment rate of approximately 11 percent is the highest in table 3, and the white female has the lowest unemployment rate. Mr. Wilber and his colleagues concluded that "the well-known disadvantaged position of the American Indian in the labor market is mirrored in these figures . . . ."[24]

The American Indian woman is at a disadvantage in terms of both the low participation rates in the labor force and the high unemployment rates; she also suffers because of the types of occupations open to her as employment opportunities. The 1975 Handbook on Women Workers provided these data on the major occupations of employed American Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo women:[25]

TABLE 4

Occupation*	American Indian	Aleut and Eskimo
Total employed	73,766	2,088
Percent	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical workers	11.1	8.8
Managers and administrators (except farm)	2.4	5.2
Sales workers	4.0	3.1
Clerical workers	25.1	26.0
Craft and kindred workers	2.1	1.0
Operatives (including transport)	18.7	10.7
Laborers (except farm)	1.3	1.4
Farm workers	2.3	1.7
Service workers (except private household)	26.3	34.3
Private household workers	6.7	8.0

* See Appendix B for examples of specific occupations

Service worker occupations have the heaviest concentration of American Indian female employees, with more than one-quarter of them employed in these areas. As pointed out in Appendix B, the service worker category falls within the low-status, blue-collar occupations, composed predominantly of maids, waitresses, dishwashers, nursing aides, hairdressers, etc. The proportion of Aleut and Eskimo women in low-status occupations exceeds that of American Indian women by 8 percent, with 34.3 percent of their population in the service worker category.

The next highest percentage of Indian women is to be found in the clerical areas of the low-status, white-collar occupations. Another quarter of the tribal Native American women are employed in this category as either bookkeepers, secretaries, teachers' aides, telephone operators, or key punch operators, to name but a few. Again, Aleut and Eskimo women have a slightly higher percentage of women workers in this occupational group than Indian women.

The group with the third highest percentage of American Indian female employees is the operatives, another low-status, blue-collar occupation. To cite a few examples, women in this category are employed as assemblers, dressmakers, seamstresses, packers, wrappers, and/or drivers. Aleut and Eskimo Indian women have but 10.7 percent of their employees in these occupations, compared with 18.7 percent for American Indian women.

In total, 70.1 percent of American Indian women are employed, in descending order, as service workers, clerical workers, and operatives, compared with 71.0 percent of Aleut and Eskimo women in these three categories. Excluding clerical workers, who are low-status, white-collar employees, 45 percent of all American Indian women and 45 percent of Aleut and Eskimo women are employed as operatives and service workers. Thus, approximately 50 percent of all American Indian and Aleut and Eskimo women are employed in low-status, blue-collar occupations.

The next group of occupations, employing the fourth highest percentage of American Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo women is the professional, technical workers category, with 11.1 and 8.8 percent, respectively. According to the 1970 census, these workers are among the high-status, white-collar occupations made up of lawyers, physicians, teachers, health technicians, social workers, and registered nurses, to cite a few job categories.

The remaining six occupations employ 18.8 percent of the American Indian women and 20.4 percent Aleut and Eskimo women. Only 13.5 percent of American Indian women and 14.0 percent of Aleut and Eskimo women are employed in high-status, white-collar occupations. Thus, 86.5 and 86.0 percent of the American Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo women, respectively, are employed in either low-status, white-collar occupations or in blue-collar occupations, again reflecting a grossly disadvantageous situation in the labor market. In short, the labor market picture for the American Indian woman is not only depressing, but it is oppressive as well.

Substantiating the comment concerning the depressing and oppressive contemporary economic situation of the American Indian woman, the study conducted by the DHEW Office of Special Concerns makes the following observation:

> 35% of rural Indian women are employed in service occupations and 22% are employed as semi-skilled operatives. These proportions in semi-skilled and low-skilled jobs are more than 50% higher than the national averages for women in the United States.[26]

This situation is further illustrated by the statistical profile on employed Indian women on the seven Indian reservations located in Montana. It shows a heavy concentration of American Indian reservation-resident women in low-status occupations. These selected statistics, compiled by the Urban Management Consultants of San Francisco for the Montana Governor's coordinator of Indian affairs, are utilized in this paper as being fairly representative of the national reservation employment situation for American Indian women.

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TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF MONTANA INDIAN EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION BY GROUP

	Reservations						
Occupation group	Blackfeet	Crow	Flathead	Ft. Belknap	Ft. Peck	No. Cheyenne	Rocky Boy's
Females employed	262 100.0%	179 100.0%	202 100.0%	53 100.0%	241 100.0%	239 100.0%	60 100.0%
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	21.0	17.9	5.0	18.9	19.1	14.6	8.3
Managers and administrators, except farm	6.1	3.4	5.0	*	4.1	2.5	*
Sales workers	1.5	2.2	4.0	*	1.7	*	*
Clerical and kindred workers	34.4	38.0	31.7	26.4	18.3	31.4	51.7
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	3.4	*	0.0	9.4	10.8	*	*
Operatives, including transport	*	11.7	8.9	*	6.9	20.1	6.7
Laborers, except farm	*	*	0.0	*	2.9	8.8	*
Farmers and farm managers	*	3.9	3.0	9.4	*	*	*
Farm laborers and foremen	1.5	*	8.4	9.4	1.7	*	*
Service workers, except private household	28.2	22.9	31.7	26.4	28.6	22.6	33.3
Private household workers	3.8	*	2.5	*	5.0	*	*

Source: 1970 U.S. Census
*Sample too small for meaningful figure.

An average of 33.12 percent of Montana reservation-resident Indian women are (ranging from a low of 18.3 percent on the Ft. Peck Reservation to a high of 51.7 percent on the Rocky Boy's Reservation), employed as clerical or kindred workers, the group with the highest number of American Indian women. There is also a heavy concentration of Indian women employed as service workers, ranging from a low of 22.6 percent to a high of 33.3 percent on the Northern Cheyenne and Rocky Boy's reservations, respectively, with an average of 27.67 percent. Thus, approximately 60 percent of Indian women are employed in these two categories alone. These figures exceed the national averages for Indian women employed in these categories.

An interesting phenomenon is occurring on the reservation with regard to the number of women employed in high-status, white-collar occupations. The national averages for Indian women employed as professional or technical workers and as managers or administrators are 11.1 percent and 2.4 percent respectively, a total of 13.5 percent. These percentages tend to be higher on the reservations. Approximately 20 percent of reservation-resident Indian women are employed in these two categories. In five of the seven reservations in Montana, the percentage of Indian professionals exceeds the national average by 3.5 percent to 10.0 percent.

The remaining 20 percent of reservation Indian women are employed in a fairly even distribution among the 7 remaining occupational groups, with a significant percentage of them, however, found in the operatives category. This, too, corresponds with the national pattern.

At a disadvantage in securing equality in employment opportunities, the American Indian woman is equally at a loss when participating in the educational opportunities available to each citizen of this country. The DHEW Office of Special Concerns' study of the 1970 socioeconomic characteristics of American Indians compiled an educational profile of the total U.S. population and of the urban and rural Indian. The data comparing American Indian females with the general U.S. population are:

TABLE 6

Schooling completed	U.S. Total	American Indians Total	 Urban	 Rural
Females				
% 8 yrs. schooling or less	25	34	25	43
% high school graduates	55	35	44	25
% 4 yrs. college or more	7.8	2.5	3.8	1.2
Median schooling (yrs.)	12.1	10.5	11.4	9.7

The data in table 6 show that while 25 percent of U.S. females have 8 years or less of schooling, 9 percent more American Indian women or 34 percent have never gone beyond 8 years of school. Further examination of the data shows that the educational level of the American Indian female in the urban area is comparable to that of the total United States. The percentage of rural American Indian females who have never reached high school (43 percent), however, is dramatically higher than either of the two groups. It is practically twice that of her counterpart who resides in an urban location and twice that of the total U.S. female population. Unfortunately, the gap that exists among these groups indicates an inequality of educational opportunities.

Nationwide, the number of U.S. female high school graduates (55 percent) is more than half of the total population. This percentage is more than twice that for Indian females from a rural area, of whom only 25 percent have graduated from high school. American Indian female urban residents complete high school at the rate of 44 percent, which exceeds that for American Indian female rural residents by 19 percent. Although the gap between the Indian female urban resident and the total U.S. female population is not as wide as the gap between the rural Indian woman resident and the total female population, the gap between all American Indian women and the entire female population is extremely wide. This 20 percent gap--55 percent versus 35 percent--indicates once again that American Indian women are educationally disadvantaged.

The 7.8 percent of females who have completed 4 or more years of college represent only a small sector of the total U.S. population and project a dismal image for equality of educational opportunities. This depressing situation is worse yet for American Indian female urban residents, of whom 3.8 percent complete at least 4 years of college. As gloomy as these statistics appear, the total American Indian female population suffers more intensely from the oppression of a sexist American society--only 2.5 percent of their group have 4 or more years of higher education. Even a more hopeless legacy belongs to the rural American Indian female resident; an insignificant 1.2 percent of her population group has completed 4 or more years of college. The gap of 6.6 percent between the American Indian woman who resides in a rural environment and the total U.S. female population, in which 7.8 percent is the largest number, indicates an exceptionally wide gap in equality of educational opportunities.

An extensive educational gap exists between the entire female population of the United States and American Indian women. The median school years of 10.5 for the total American Indian female population lags behind that of 12.1 median school years for the total U.S. female population. This situation, especially in a contemporary society that places so much emphasis on a high school education, has resulted in an educationally disadvantaged group of people. Not only is the American Indian woman disadvantaged educationally, but she is grossly disadvantaged in the labor market also, with a low labor force participation, high unemployment rate, and unequal employment opportunities. The contemporary American Indian, who is an anachronism to the majority of society, is confronting the complexities of a highly mechanized society, which, with its advanced technology, has lost contact with humanity. This inhuman, mercantilist, acquisitive giant of a society has lost its ability to respect the vision, the dream of the individual. Humanity has become insignificant. The universe, with its boundless astral systems, has now captured the attention of man, who is now tampering with the moon and stars, much like he tampered with the lives of the female descendants of the first peoples to inhabit and love this country.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The United States of America, observing 200 years of freedom as it enters the tricentennial, has the primary and immediate responsibility to ensure equality of opportunity to each member of its society. This equality of opportunity must not only include women, it also must encompass minorities of all colors, and specifically American Indians. Extensions of opportunities--educational, economic, and social--must no longer be token gestures, but must become serious commitments in totally implementing the concept of equality.

An assessment of the limited, conflicting, and incomplete data available on the economic and the educational achievement level of the American Indian woman in the contemporary labor market discloses, without question, the entrenched existence of an oppressive and chauvinistic society. Strategies to counter what appear to be insurmountable obstacles to alleviating inequality of opportunity must be formulated for implementation into a national policy. Ideas which must be explored include the following:

I. Adequate Federal funding to an appropriate agency for detailed and comprehensive research on American Indian women in contemporary society.

II. A. Research regarding the American Indian woman must be conducted by, or in concert with, American Indian women and local tribal groups.

B. Such research must be undertaken methodically, with the 50 States being divided into 10 American Indian cultural regions to facilitate a comprehensive representation of the heterogeneity of American Indian tribal women. Such recommended regions are:

1. Northeast
2. Southeast
3. Great Lakes
4. Southern Plains
5. Northern Plains
6. Great Basin
7. California
8. Southwest
9. Northwest
10. Alaska

III. A specific research priority is the disruption of American Indian families by encouraging the Indian woman to enter the labor force.

IV. Another research priority is an inventory of employment opportunities on Indian reservations and in Indian communities to determine if: (1) the available jobs are going more frequently to women than to men; (2) the job pool includes low-paying jobs that exploit the American Indian peoples of the area; (3) women are being exploited by being hired; and (4) men are being discriminated against by not being employed.

V. Comprehensive research must be conducted on the socioeconomic conditions of reservations, with appropriate policy and funding recommendations resulting in American Indian reservations being accorded the same consideration and support as developing nations.

VI. There should be continued monitoring of the U.S. philosophy of equal opportunity, with subsequent implementation of recommendations resulting in positive Federal policy/programs with regard to American Indian women.

VII. Comprehensive, mandatory career education is necessary at the precollege level, concomitant with intensive vocational guidance and counseling.

VIII. The American Indian woman must be prepared for employment with career-oriented educational programs corresponding to employment opportunities.

IX. There must be substantially increased appropriations for student financial assistance programs at all levels of education, including:

A. Department of Interior--Bureau of Indian Affairs

B. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare--Office of Indian Education

X. Federally funded educational programs focusing upon specific careers for the Indian woman at higher-education levels.

XI. Federally funded fellowships for American Indian women, with the specific intent of preparing Indian women for high-status, white-collar occupations, must be provided.

XII. A teacher education training institution should be designated within each of the recommended 10 cultural regions.

A. The institution is to be charged with the responsibility of training Indian teachers at the preservice and inservice levels.

B. The institution shall develop a data base of, and in concert with, the tribal entities in the respective regions.

XIII. All U.S. Federal Government agencies, including, but not limited to, the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Interior Department and the Indian Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, must institute "Indian preference" in all phases of initial employment, reemployment, reduction-in-force, and promotions.

XIV. American Indian tribal peoples must participate in the development, implementation, and evaluation of programs directly affecting their economic, educational, and social well-being.

CONCLUSION

The new American society, with its characteristics of acquisitiveness, mercantilism, and ethnocentrism, has resulted in an oppressive and intolerable situation for the American Indian, particularly for the American Indian woman, in a complex society. The Anglo-European, with ethnocentric arrogance, presumes that he discovered this country, and, as recorded in his history, is as oblivious now, as he was in 1492, to those people who first welcomed him to the shores of this, their country. A sense of humanity--a respect for the equal rights of individuals--must be reaffirmed; if not, then the next stage of so-called progress for this country following democracy, dedicated to the concept of equality of opportunity and freedom of choice, is technocracy. The value system of the white dominant society of America places little emphasis on the individual or on humanity. Humanity is insignificant to the majority members of society. Technocracy is already evident, for "man is tampering with the moon and the stars."

NOTES

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[3] T. C. McLuhan, Touch the Earth: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence (New York: Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, 1974), p. 171.

[4] Dee Brown, Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), p. 1.

[5] George Bird Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life--Vol. II (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), p. 379.

[6] *Ibid*., p. 381.

[7] McLuhan, p. 3.

[8] Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), p. 266.

[9] *Ibid*., p. 273.

[10] U.S. Department of Labor, 1975 Handbook on Women Workers (Washington, D.C.: Employment Standards Bureau, 1975), Bulletin 297, pp. 45-46.

[11] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census--Vol. III* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Special Concerns, 1974), p. i.

[12] U.S. Department of Commerce, *We, the First Americans* (Washington, D.C.: Social and Economic Statistics Administration, 1973), p. 5.

[13] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Occupation of Employed American Indians, for the United States: 1970* (Washington, D.C.: Population Division, ----), Table 1, p. --.

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[15] *Ibid.*, quoting Gerald Harlin, March 1973.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[17] DHEW, Office of Special Concerns, p. ii.

[18] Edward B. Larsh, *Essential Information on the Twenty-Four Indian Reservations of Region VIII with a Look at the U.S. Census as it Relates to the Native American* (1970), p. 4. (Unpublished)

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[20] __________, "A Contemporary Glossary: Definitions of Racism," (New York: Foundation for Change, 1974) quoting Dr. Delmo Della-Dora, *What Curriculum Leaders Can Do About Racism* (----------: New Detroit, Inc., 1970).

[21] The United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Racism in America: And How to Combat It* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), Clearinghouse Publication, Urban Series No. 1, p. 20.

[22] United States Senate, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge*, 91st Congress, 1st Session, November 3, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. X.

[23] George L. Wilber, Daniel E. Jaco, et al., *Spanish Americans and Indians in the Labor Market: Minorities in the Labor Market--Vol. I* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, Social Welfare Research Institute, 1975), p. 19.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] U.S. Department of Labor, *1975 Handbook on Women Workers*, p. 47.

[26] DHEW, Office of Special Concerns, p. iii.

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APPENDIX A

PREPARED BY: POPULATION DIVISION, U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TABLE A1

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED AMERICAN INDIANS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1970
(based on 5-percent sample)

Occupation	Number	Percent distribution	Percent of all employed persons
Total employed, 16 years old and over	190,118	100.0	0.2
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	18,565	9.8	0.2
Accountants	617	0.3	0.1
Engineers	1,126	0.6	0.1
Lawyers and judges	310	0.2	0.1
Lawyers	288	0.2	0.1
Judges	22	-	0.2
Physicians, dentists, and related practitioners	385	0.2	0.1
Registered nurses, dietitians, and therapists	2,043	1.1	0.2
Health technologists and technicians	482	0.3	0.2
Teachers	4,539	2.4	0.1
College and university	597	0.3	0.1
Adult education	179	0.1	0.4
Elementary and secondary school	3,343	1.8	0.1
Prekindergarten and kindergarten	315	0.2	0.3
Engineering and science technicians	1,899	1.0	0.2
Writers, artists, and entertainers	1,378	0.7	0.2
Managers and administrators, except farm	7,855	4.1	0.1
Health administrators	248	0.1	0.3
Officials and administrators; public administration, nec.	1,024	0.5	0.4
Federal public administration and postal service	430	0.2	0.4
State public administration	113	0.1	0.2
Local public administration	481	0.3	0.6
Restaurant, cafeteria, and bar managers	334	0.2	0.1

TABLE A1 (cont.)

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED AMERICAN INDIANS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1970
(based on 5-percent sample)

Occupation	Number	Percent distribution	Percent of all employed persons
Managers and administrators, nec., salaried	2,343	1.1	0.1
Construction	300	0.2	0.1
Wholesale and retail trade	849	0.4	0.1
Managers and administrators, nec., self-employed	1,113	0.6	0.1
Wholesale and retail trade	514	0.3	0.1
Sales workers	5,973	3.1	0.1
Demonstrators, hucksters, and peddlers	281	0.1	0.2
Insurance agents, brokers, and underwriters	439	0.2	0.1
Sales workers and sales clerks, nec.	4,423	2.3	0.1
Sales representatives	597	0.3	0.1
Sales clerks, retail trade	2,853	1.5	0.1
Clerical and kindred workers	25,508	13.4	0.2
Bookkeepers	1,815	1.0	0.1
Cashiers	1,113	0.6	0.1
File clerks	591	0.3	0.2
Office machine operators	1,288	0.7	0.2
Secretaries	3,901	2.1	0.1
Shipping and receiving clerks	954	0.5	0.2
Stock clerks and storekeepers	1,156	0.6	0.3
Teacher aides, except school monitors	2,178	1.1	1.7
Telephone operators	707	0.4	0.2
Typists	2,255	1.2	0.2
Craft and kindred workers	26,810	14.1	0.3
Construction craftsmen	9,900	5.2	0.4
Brick masons and stone masons	502	0.3	0.3
Bulldozer operators	497	0.3	0.6
Carpenters	3,160	1.7	0.4
Electricians	838	0.4	0.2
Excavating, grading, and road machine operators, except bulldozer	1,120	0.6	0.5
Painters, construction, and maintenance	1,437	0.8	0.4

TABLE A1 (cont.)

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED AMERICAN INDIANS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1970
(based on 5-percent sample)

Occupation	Number	Percent distribution	Percent of all employed persons
Plumbers and pipe fitters	974	0.5	0.3
Structural metal workers	592	0.3	0.8
Crane, derrick, and hoist operators	323	0.2	0.2
Blue-collar workers, supervisors, nec.	2,647	1.4	0.2
Mechanics and repairers	5,989	3.2	0.2
Automobile mechanics	2,286	1.2	0.3
Heavy equipment mechanics, incl. diesel	1,521	0.8	0.3
Metalcraft workers, except mechanics	2,486	1.3	0.2
Machinists	988	0.5	0.3
Sheet metal workers and tinsmiths	551	0.3	0.4
Printing craft workers	568	0.3	0.1
Stationary engineers	397	0.2	0.2
Operatives, except transport	34,421	18.1	0.3
Assemblers	3,157	1.7	0.3
Garage workers and gas station attendants	1,280	0.7	0.3
Metal working operative, except precision machine	4,432	2.3	0.4
Welders and flame cutters	2,595	1.4	0.5
Mine operatives, nec.	947	0.3	0.6
Precision machine operatives	931	0.5	0.2
Transport equipment operatives	7,497	3.9	0.3
Delivery and route workers	1,022	0.5	0.2
Bus drivers	843	0.4	0.4
Forklift and tow motor operatives	543	0.3	0.2
Truck drivers	3,740	2.0	0.3
Laborers, except farm	16,363	8.6	0.5
Construction laborers, except carpenters' helpers	3,096	1.6	0.6
Freight and material handlers	2,272	1.2	0.4
Gardeners and groundkeepers, except farm	1,526	0.8	0.5
Timber cutting and logging workers	869	0.5	1.1

TABLE A1 (cont.)

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED AMERICAN INDIANS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1970
(based on 5-percent sample)

Occupation	Number	Percent distri- bution	Percent of all employed persons
Farmers and farm managers	3,060	1.6	0.2
Farmers, owners and tenants	2,338	1.2	0.2
Farm laborers and supervisors	7,954	4.2	0.8
Farm laborers, wage workers	6,012	3.2	0.8
Service workers, except private household	31,215	16.4	0.4
Cleaning service workers	7,596	4.0	0.4
Federal food workers	7,925	4.2	0.3
Health service workers	5,924	3.1	0.5
Personal service workers	3,874	2.0	0.3
Protective service workers	1,927	1.0	0.2
Guards	673	0.4	0.2
Police and detectives	833	0.4	0.2
Private household workers	4,897	2.6	0.4

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS

1970 Census

1. White-Collar Occupations

   a. High Status

   o Professional & Technical Workers: Engineers, Lawyers, Scientists, Physicians, Teachers, Journalists, Writers, Health Technicians, Registered Nurses, Social Workers, etc.

- Managers and Administrators: Buyers, Sales Managers, Public Administrators, Health Administrators, Restaurant Managers, Office Managers, School Administrators, persons self-employed in own incorporated businesses, etc.

b. Low Status

- Sales Workers: Salesmen, Sales Clerks, Brokers, etc.

- Clerical Workers: Bookkeepers, Cashiers, Secretaries, Bank Tellers, Key Punch Operators, Telephone Operators, Teacher's Aides, Mail Carriers, Library Attendants, etc.

2. Blue-Collar Occupations

a. High Status

- Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers: Carpenters, Plumbers, Electricians, Mechanics, Machinists, Construction Workers, Printers, Repairmen, etc.

b. Low Status

- Operatives: Assemblers, Filers, Polishers, Sanders and Buffers, Dressmakers and Seamstresses, Packers and Wrappers, Sewers and Stitchers, Graders and Sorters, Deliverymen, Bus Drivers, Truck Drivers.

- Laborers, Except Farm: Construction Laborers; Freight, Stock, and Material Handlers; Fishermen; Gardeners; Longshoremen.

- Service Workers: Maids, Janitors, Waiters, Dishwashers, Nursing Aides, Porters, Hairdressers, Porters [sic], Policemen, etc.

- Farm-Related Occupations: Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Workers, etc.

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF AMERICAN INDIAN GIRLS

Helen Maynor Scheirbeck

INTRODUCTION

When I was approached about organizing a paper on the educational status of American Indian girls, I was most excited about putting together a clear set of statistics. My mind began clicking off the multiple resources in the Federal Government from which I could obtain data.

I knew very well all the complaints concerning the oversurveyed Indian culture. I assumed these surveys had been digested and organized somewhere by a computer. All I would need to do was find the program code, push the button, and out would come all this glorious and accurate information concerning the educational status of Indian girls. Little did I know how vague and inaccurate the data would be.

Of course, I will give some statistics on my assigned topic. But as these statistics are presented, it will become clear that there is no comprehensive reporting mechanism on all American Indians. In particular, there are virtually no hard statistics on American Indian girls.

Let us begin by defining the term "American Indian girls." The definition used in this paper refers to all Indian girls--whether they live on reservations or in urban or rural areas. The age span, arbitrarily chosen as 6 to 18 years old, represents girls attending elementary and secondary schools.

BACKGROUND OF INDIAN POPULATION

Before beginning an analysis of the educational status of American Indian girls, it is helpful to have a frame of reference with regard to American Indians.

There are 827,000 American Indians and Alaskan Natives in the United States. They represent not quite one-half of 1 percent of the total population.

American Indians live in all 50 of the United States. Nearly two-thirds live in eight States--Oklahoma, Arizona, California, New Mexico, Alaska, North Carolina, South Dakota, and Washington.

A number of legal distinctions concerning Indians are made by the Federal Government. Since these distinctions distort the data, they should be noted. Indians classified as "federally recognized" receive services

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from the Bureau of Indian Affairs; those classified as "nonfederally recognized" receive services from Federal agencies, other than the Department of the Interior, which are open to all Indians and/or all citizens.

Data collected on American Indians are organized according to a particular agency's need, and there is no uniform system for obtaining information or recordkeeping.

According to the 1970 Bureau of the Census Special Subject Report on American Indians:

- They had the largest percentage of population increase of any group in the United States in the past decade.
- One-half of the rural population and 40 percent of the urban population are under 18 years of age.
- For the first time, in the 1970 census, there were more Indian women than Indian men.
- More than one-third of all Indians marry non-Indians. This high level of intermarriage occurs most frequently among urban Indians.
- They have some of the largest families of any group in the total population.
- The low educational level of American Indians is changing. This is true particularly for urban Indians. In 1960, 28 percent of urban Indians were high school graduates. In 1970, this percentage had risen to 42. Yet 48 percent of rural Indians have not gone beyond elementary school, and only 23 percent of them have graduated from high school.
- Thirty-five percent of rural Indian women are employed in service occupations and 22 percent work as semiskilled operatives. These proportions are more than 50 percent higher than the national averages for women.
- Forty-eight percent of urban Indian women are in white-collar occupations--12 percent are professionals and 29 percent are clerical workers.
- Indian families have the lowest median income of any group in the population; at the same time, they have among the largest families to support.[1]

From these statistics a picture emerges indicating a dispersed, small, yet fairly young population, confusing legal definitions, expanding urban settlements, an increasing female population, and more positive education and economic development for urban Indians, but not for rural Indians.

They still remain a definitively impoverished segment of the U.S. population.

EDUCATION CHARACTERISTICS

The low educational level of American Indians is changing. In 1960, only 13 percent of all rural Indians 14 years of age and over were high school graduates; by 1970, 23 percent completed high school--a 10 percent increase.[2] In urban areas, in 1960, 28 percent were high school graduates; by 1970, 42 percent had finished high school--a 14 percent increase.[3]

Urban and rural Indians have shown improvements at all levels of education, with a decrease in the proportions of those with 8 or fewer years of education and an increase in those obtaining high school or college training. The proportion of both urban and rural Indians with a high school or college education increased between 1960 and 1970, with urban Indians showing a greater increase. Table 1 is used to illustrate this finding.

TABLE 1

SCHOOL COMPLETED: URBAN VS. RURAL INDIANS, 1960-1970

	Urban				Rural			
	1960		1970*		1960		1970*	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
% of population	32	34	44	45	68	66	56	55
% 8 years or less	46	46	30	28	66	65	50	47
% high school graduates	28	28	43	42	12	13	24	23
% 4 years college or more	3.5	2.4	5.2	3.6	0.8	0.7	1.2	1.1

*Data on Indians who had completed school in 1960 are only available for 14-year-olds and above. Therefore, to have comparable data, 1970 data were developed for 14-year-olds.[4]

In 1970, there was a marked difference in the educational attainments of urban and rural Indians, as illustrated in table 1. For Indian women, the statistics were:

- Forty-three percent of rural Indian women had completed 8 or fewer years of school, compared with 25 percent of urban Indian women.
- Twenty-five percent of rural Indian women were high school graduates, compared with 44 percent of urban Indian women. It appears

that more Indians in urban areas are attending school than those in rural areas. Further data analysis does not substantiate this fact but points to a high mobility of high school graduates from rural to urban areas.

Table 2 adds another dimension to educational comparisons between the total United States population and urban and rural Indians.

To focus the educational data more clearly on women, table 3 compares educational levels for U.S. women with rural and urban Indian women.

TABLE 2

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE U.S. TOTAL POPULATION AND URBAN AND RURAL INDIANS, 1970[5]

	U.S. Total	Am. Indians Total	Indians--urban concentration		Indians				Indians--rural concentration			
			Urban U.S.	Calif.	Oklahoma*		Washington*		Rural U.S.	Ariz.	New Mex.	South Dak.
Schooling completed (16 yrs. of age or older)												
Males: % 8 yrs. schooling or less	27	37	26	23	34		28		46	50	46	42
% high school graduates	54	34	46	46	38		39		25	25	26	25
% 4 yrs. college or more	12.6	3.5	5.6	4.0	4.1		2.8		1.5	1.3	1.6	1.7
Median schooling (yrs.)	12.1	10.4	11.5	11.6	10.7		11.0		9.4	9.1	9.4	9.7
Females: % 8 yrs. schooling or less	25	34	25	23	31		28		43	52	47	37
% high school graduates	55	35	44	46	38		36		25	23	26	26
% 4 yrs. college or more	7.8	2.5	3.8	3.2	1.1		1.9		1.2	0.8	1.2	1.2
Median schooling (yrs.)	12.1	10.5	11.4	11.6	10.8		10.9		9.7	8.7	9.3	10.1
Enrollment in school					Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural				
% 3-4 yrs. old	14	14	11.2	15.2	6.1	5.4	11.1	8.8	15.1	15.6	17.4	25.1
% 18-24 yrs. old: Male	37	26	27	22	32	28	24	24	25	31	31	33
Female	27	21	22	19	23	21	21	13	20	25	24	18

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*Data on persons 16 years of age or older not available by urban/rural. Data on persons of both sexes 25 years of age or older are:

	Oklahoma		Washington	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
% 8 Yrs. of Schooling or Less	30	50	28	39
% H.S. Graduates	47	28	43	31
% 4 Yrs. College or More	6.1	2.7	4.1	1.7
Median Schooling	11.6	9	11.2	10.1

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TABLE 3

SCHOOLING COMPLETED, BY AGE & SEX, FOR U.S. TOTAL AND URBAN AND RURAL INDIANS[6]

		Percent of total population		
		Females		
			Indians	
Level of schooling completed by percent	Age groups	U.S.	Urban	Rural
8 years of school or less	16-24	8	11	19
	25-34	10	17	34
	35-44	15	26	48
	45-64	30	36	60
	65 & over	55	61	81
High school graduates	16-24	71	48	30
	25-34	71	53	36
	35-44	63	40	24
	45-64	49	38	19
	65 & over	29	22	8
4 or more years of college	16-24	6.1	1.4	0.4
	25-34	12.1	5.8	1.9
	35-44	8.9	5.0	1.2
	45-64	7.1	4.1	1.7
	65 & over	4.9	3.7	1.1

The above data show that there are now 1 percent fewer urban Indians of all ages among those with 8 years or less of schooling than the U.S. average. Furthermore it appears that these urban Indian women are within 11 percent of reaching the level of high school graduates for the country. The educational level for rural Indian women is not nearly so high as for urban Indian women, yet they appear to have raised their educational level to the same as that of urban Indians 10 years ago.

The data thus far indicate a marked increase of Indian high school graduates, but not a similar increase of college graduates. Although the percentage of persons completing high school has increased more than 10 percent since 1960, the percentage completing college has increased only 1 percent.[7] It is interesting to note that urban Indian women are three times more likely to have obtained a college education than rural women (3.8 percent to 1.2 percent), but this urban rate is only less than one-half the national percentage of women who are college educated.

To explain the data further, table 4 indicates enrollment in school for Indian women by age and contrasts several urban and rural States. Table 4 illustrates:

- The expansion of preschool programs (Headstart etc.) has been significant for rural Indian girls from 3 to 5 years old. Yet it appears that these programs are not available for urban Indian girls.

- Although urban Indian girls qualify for these programs, only 11 percent are enrolled in any program.

- In the age span of 14- to 17-year-olds, there is practically no difference between rural and urban girls in school enrollment.

- For the 18- to 24-year-olds, data on retention in school are variable between women in rural and urban areas. Twenty-two percent of urban Indian women and 20 percent of rural Indian women are enrolled in school. This indicates a lack of advanced education, which certainly creates a hardship since so many women in this age group have young children to support.

TABLE 4

ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOL FOR INDIAN WOMEN BY AGE[8]

Population group	Age 3-4	Age 14-17 Female	Age 18-24 Female
U.S. total	13%	92%	27%
Indian total	14	86	21
Urban total	11	86	22
California	15	87	19
Oklahoma: urban	6	89	23
Washington: urban	11	87	24
Rural total	15	86	20
Arizona	15	84	29
New Mexico	17	86	24
Oklahoma: rural	5	86	21
South Dakota	25	87	18
Washington: rural	8	92	13

In addition to the factors outlined above, the use of American Indian languages must be understood as an educational factor. At least 35 percent of American Indians today use their native languages as their mother tongue. In some areas of the United States, 75 percent of certain tribes are primarily Indian-speaking. These languages and their educational use, either in a bicultural or monocultural sense, affect the young Indian student's learning style.

Let us review for a moment what the above data mean. It has been necessary to go to the 1970 census, as the most recent data, and cull from its special reports on American Indians a framework of data concerning American Indian women: where they live (urban or rural areas), the size of their families, the extent of their education, as well as their occupations and income statuses.

The educational characteristics followed next, noting both urban and rural Indian men and women and comparing them with their United States total population counterparts. Educational data on Indian women were isolated and sorted into age groups extending from 16 to 65. Finally, a chart noting enrollment in school from 3 to 24 years was inserted. However, data on the critical years from 5 to 13 are missing. It is clear that there are no comprehensive data on the current educational status of Native American girls ages 6 to 18. The only fact that can be established is that in the States with 10,000 or more Indian population, there are 180,354 Indian girls from under 1 year to 18 years of age.

INQUIRY CONCERNING EDUCATIONAL DATA ON INDIAN GIRLS

Presented below is a data search with regard to specific issues concerning Indian girls.

Question: Do you have any statistics, special reports, or other material on the educational status of American Indian girls aged 6-18?

- Bureau of the Census indicated that their special reports on American Indians in the 1970 census do not contain specific data requested because Indians are such a small population (around 1 million). The 1980 census reports will be more precise on sex.

- Children's Bureau/DHEW noted that they do have data on age groups and suggested contact be made with the Office of Indian and Migrant Programs (Headstart).

- Office of Indian and Migrant Programs/DHEW confirmed that they do not keep a breakout by sex or educational achievements.

- National Center for Education Statistics/DHEW indicated that they do not keep educational statistics by race. They noted that a leaflet that they produced concerning Indians in public schools did not indicate sex and was based on public school statistical material supplied by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

- Office of Indian Education/USOE/DHEW, while funding local educational agencies with 10 or more Indian children, acknowledged that they did not maintain data by age or sex. They have no data on what age span their programs are servicing.

- Office of Education Programs/BIA/DOI does not break out their educational data by sex. However, they are certain that girls are less than 50 percent of the student population. Data can be obtained by grades, number of students, number of dropouts, percentage of dropouts, and tribal affiliation. They recommend that dropout studies be utilized.

- Bureau of Labor Statistics/DOL suggested that the 1970 census be utilized.

- Women's Bureau/DOL suggested that the 1970 census and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Report of 1973 on job patterns for minorities and women in private industry be used.

- Aid to Dependent Children/Social and Rehabilitation Service/DHEW forwarded ADC data, which provided the number of mothers, children, and income level.

- Office of Civil Rights/DHEW noted that they have a report of the number of Indians enrolled in school, but it is not broken out by sex. They noted there has not been legislation prohibiting this type of data, but since it had not been requested, it had not been collected. This office stated that Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 is now being enforced, and they expect data on Indian girls and women will be available within one year.

- U.S. Advisory Commission on Civil Rights has held numerous hearings throughout the United States concerning American Indians. All their material relates to dropout rates and is not designated by sex.

- Office of Bilingual Education/USOE/DHEW stated that they keep only general data on Indian groups and do not break it out by sex.

- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission keeps data by sex and race, but not by age.

- National Education Association indicated that they had no such statistics, but suggested the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the USOE's Office of Indian Education, and Urban Associates, which had just finished a recent study on minorities and the census.

- American Federation of Teachers confirmed that they had no data.

- Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, searched, but found no data on educational status of Native American girls.

Two women's organizations were contacted. The National Organization of Women indicated an interest in the subject but had no data. The National Center for Law and Social Policy said they had nothing on the subject.

Clearly, this review points up how few concrete facts exist with regard to the educational status of American Indian girls. It also makes one wonder where the statistics of gloom, generated and used so profusely with regard to Indian education, derive from--in short, what are their sources, and how accurate are their findings?

HISTORICAL WALKTHROUGH OF CENSUS AND AMERICAN INDIANS

The first Federal U.S. census was completed in 1790. Nothing was included on American Indians in this report. Although both the Office of Indian Affairs, later designated the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Superintendent of the Census were located in the Department of the Interior when it was created in 1829, there appears to have been little sharing of information.

The census of 1860 was the first to distinguish Indians from other classes of population. No listing of Indians in "The Indian Territory" (present State of Oklahoma) or on reservations was included until 1890. This omission is thought to have occurred because the constitutional provision for the "apportionment of Representatives in Congress, which was the immediate reason for taking the early Census, specifically excluded 'Indians not taxed.'"

It appears that since the early census, the definition of "Indian" has varied for purposes of enumeration. The one consistent dichotomy used, however, has been the urban/rural classification.

Census data have been broken out by mixture of blood, languages, age, school attendance, occupation, and tribe. Because the 1890 census included Indians, a table of social statistics is provided to illustrate information of interest to the census takers (table 5). This census did include the types of school Indian children attended, enrollment numbers, average attendance, number of employees for the school, and cost to the Federal Government; but there was no statement on the educational status of American Indian girls or boys.

The census of 1910 was considered significant for the Indian population in the United States and Alaska. A description of this activity follows:

> Status of Indians were gathered, in part by means of the general population schedule and in part by means of a special schedule containing, in addition to the questions found on the general schedule, inquiries as to tribes and purity of blood. The special schedules were used in all districts containing Indians on reservations and throughout counties where as many as 20 Indians were returned at the Census of 1900.[9]
>
> Text and tables are devoted to the following subjects: members of population; proportion of mixed bloods; sex distribution; age

distribution; stocks and tribes, by sex, age, mixture of blood; fecundity and vitality, marital condition, school attendance, illiteracy, inability to speak English, occupations, Indians taxed and not taxed.[10]

TABLE 5

SOCIAL STATISTICS[a]

A number of items of importance relating to reservation Indians, (exclusive of the Five Civilized Tribes), condensed from the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1890, are given below:

Indians who wear citizens' dress wholly	70,095
Indians who wear citizens' dress in part	48,101
Indians who can read	23,207
Indians who can use English enough for ordinary purposes	27,822
Dwelling homes occupied by Indians	19,104
Dwellings built by Indians	1,570
Dwellings built for Indians	312
Indian apprentices	758
Missionaries	274
Indians, church members (communicants)[b]	23,650
Church buildings	203
Contributed by religious societies and other parties for education[c]	165,572
Contributed by religious societies and other parties for other than educational purposes[c]	76,740
Contributed for Carlisle school	5,769
Formal marriages among Indians during the year	1,167
Divorces granted Indians during the year	47
Indian men now living in polygamy	2,368
Indians killed during the year by Indians	32
Indians killed during the year by whites	8
Suicides	18
Whites killed during the year by Indians	18
Indian criminals punished during the year by court of Indian offenses	723
Indian criminals punished during the year by other methods	520
Crimes against Indians committed by whites	218
Whisky sellers prosecuted	213

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[a] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890.[11]

[b] Only partially reported.

[c] The figures are incomplete; many schools and missions are not reported.

The 1930 census, also entitled "Indian Population of the United States and Alaska," carried the same assorted items concerning Indians as the 1890 and 1910 reports. School attendance was treated with more sophistication in the 1930 census. It noted the percentage of 5- to 20-year-old Indians: (1) attending school in selected States; (2) by division and States and according to age and sex; (3) by age, stock (language), and tribe; and (4) for tribes and tribal groups. Two significant findings were reported:

1. There has been a very definite increase in the proportions of Indians attending school since the beginning of the century (1900).

2. It is probably significant also, as further indicating cultural assimilation, that whereas in 1900 and 1910 there was a slight proportional excess of boys over girls in the school attendance figures, in 1920 and 1930 the sex proportions have been reversed and there are now relatively more girls than boys in schools.[12]

By 1950, the U.S. Census was classifying American Indians by a rural/urban dichotomy and with an age and sex classification. In this census, 101,290 women were reported as being 14 years old and over. Of the total number of women, 17,595 had received no schooling. The median schooling completed for all Indian women was 7.3 grades. Almost one-half of the total number of women (50,000) 14 years old and over were in elementary school.

By 1960, the census was reporting females 5 years old and over, and Indian girls and women were listed at 162,952 individuals. Of this number, 18,152 had no schooling; 8.5 was the median school years completed. Approximately 95,000 of the total girls and women reported were in elementary schools.

A study of specific general census reports on American Indians and Alaska Natives will reveal that general reports tend to clump Indians and Alaska Natives as "whites" or "others." The "others" classification is interesting and can refer to anyone. An illustration of two extremes is:

1. Others includes Negroes, Aleuts, Chinese, Eskimos, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Indians, Indonesians, Japanese, Koreans, Polynesians and other races.[13]

2. Others include Negroes and persons reporting more than one origin.[14]

The U.S. census provides critical information for budgeting and programing. Yet, it is quite clear that this document does not define Indians and Alaska Natives clearly, nor does it gather adequate educational data on Indian people, and particularly on Indian girls. One of our major goals as Indian women must be to get this matter classified and adequately reported in the 1980 census.

EDUCATIONAL THRUST FOR AMERICAN INDIAN GIRLS LIVING ON FEDERAL RESERVATIONS

It is not clear when American Indian girls were first given an opportunity for formal education, including public and private schools. But a number of random statements from public policy will indicate the thrust of their education.

> In 1818, the U.S. Congress stated, 'Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plough; and, as their minds become enlightened and expand, the Bible will be their book, and they will grow up in habits of morality and industry. . . .'

In 1839, Commissioner Harley Crawford strongly urged that Indian females be given education in these schools. He felt "if the women are made good and industrious housewives, and taught what benefits their condition, their husbands and sons will find comfortable homes and social enjoyments which, in any state of society, are essential to morality and thrift."[15] Soon the BIA began recordkeeping in its schools on boys and girls.

Congressional appropriations "for the support of industrial and other schools among the Indian tribes not otherwise provided for"[16] were authorized at $100,000 in 1870. This act brought Indians more directly under the control of the Federal Government and stimulated the development of Government schools (boarding, day, and industrial training). These schools expanded rapidly until the early 1930's. They stressed speaking, reading, and writing English and rudimentary arithmetic, with no Indian languages permitted in the schools. The primary emphasis for Indian girls was on homemaking skills--sewing, cooking, general domestic work--and on character building. The records indicate that the girls made all the clothing for the boys and girls at the school, did all the washing, ironing, cooking, and cleaning for the entire school enterprise, and had time to sell some of the items they made, such as lace and pantaloons.

The level of physical labor was so high in many of these schools that Congress investigated a number of these activities in the early 1900's and put a stop to such cheap child labor.

However, as a major thrust for educating Indians, the Federal boarding system remained the primary institution until 1912. Commissioner Cato Sells announced a policy of putting all Indian children in public schools. His gift to all Indians who finished high school was to declare them competent, take away any tribal property they had, and put the land on the State tax rolls. This was the period when BIA began paying local school districts tuition "based on the cost of education of white pupils."[17]

The next major thrust in the education of Indian girls by the Bureau of Indian Affairs came in 1936. Education Director Carson Ryan began a program to build community and day schools to teach basic skills and to incorporate cultural traditions and art into the educational program. An effort to bring education to the Southwest and Plains, in particular, began during this time. Basic skills utilizing Indian languages, cultural traditions, and the arts were expanded as a part of the school curriculum.

The next major shift in the education of Indian girls came in the 1950's and 1960's. Again, the emphasis was on moving Indian children as fast as possible into some school system, usually the local public schools.

The present decade of the 1970's presents a mixture of educational thrusts for American Indian girls living on Federal reservations. Vying for these children are public schools, BIA schools, mission schools, and, finally, a new effort called Indian community-controlled schools. For these students, the majority of their education has been viewed as assimilation without an accompanying concern for literacy and basic skills. The only exception to this has been the Indian community-controlled schools where bilingual and bicultural education, with a stress on basic skills and cultural heritage, has been the core of the curriculum. It appears that parental and tribal attitudes toward education are changing from questioning alienation to encouraging awareness of education as a tool for cultural survival.

EDUCATIONAL THRUSTS FOR AMERICAN INDIAN GIRLS LIVING IN URBAN AND RURAL NONRESERVATION AREAS

There are no educational statistics for Indian girls living in nonreservation communities to which one can turn. Throughout the major part of their history, they have had four options:

1. Education with whites in subscription schools or in mission schools for Indians from the founding of the United States until the early 1840's.

2. Education with blacks on an interim basis or no education prior to, and after, the Civil War.

3. Indian schools built by the Indian community with their own monies. Later, States and counties recognized and accepted these schools in the public school system, with the exception of New York, which took the initiative in providing education for Indian students in 1795 by procuring finances through contracts with local education agencies.

4. Attendance at integrated public schools in or near their communities since the Brown school desegregation decision of 1954.

For these students, the stress from their parents and communities clearly has been on basic skills, with education seen as a necessary tool for survival.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the education of Indian children one usually notes that there is a confusing array of statistics concerning the number of Indian school-age children, their dropout rate, the number of children not in school, etc.

There are supposedly 337,000 school-age American Indian children. Children attending BIA schools are listed at 49,000; those attending mission schools include nearly 9,000 students; those attending public schools are in the vicinity of 278,000; and a recent category of Indian-controlled schools enrolled approximately 1,000.

The 1970 census notes that more than 50 percent of all Indian girls are attending school. On this basis, there would be 169,000 school-age Indian girls. Dropout rates range from 25 percent to 99 percent, depending on the Indian tribe or group. It is difficult to project the extent of bilingualism among American Indian girls, since statistics are not clear. It is safe to assume, however, that the educational thrust is still toward basic skills, with some emphasis on preparation for higher education and vocational occupations. Open career guidance and counseling still appears quite limited for all American Indian girls.

Until clearer statistics are kept on all Indians by age, by sex, by academic level and achievement, and by legal status (living on reservations, not living on reservations--in urban or rural settings), it will be difficult to report on the educational status of American Indian girls accurately.

Critical research items which this conference should recommend to the National Institute of Education with regard to Indian girls and women are:

1. NIE should meet with the following USOE offices: Women's Educational Equity Act, Title I and Title IV-ESEA, and the Office of Indian Education to identify present program reporting systems concerning the participation of Indian girls and women in their funded projects. From this meeting, a steering committee of program staff and Indian organizations (representing all Indians) should devise a relevant reporting form (to be used uniformly by all DHEW programs) documenting age, education, and employment of Indian girls and women.

2. NIE should contact DHEW's Office for Civil Rights immediately with regard to the planned survey of all school districts to assure that proper questions concerning Indian girls and women--their age, education, and employment levels--are included with their Indian classification. The editing committee from this conference should assist NIE in reviewing this form.

3. The Women's Bureau/Department of Labor should be asked to fund jointly with the Women's Research Program in NIE a

special report on the educational and employment status of Indian girls and women. Such a study can be handled by a grant or contract and should review records of all Federal and State agencies involved in the education and employment of Indian girls and women.

4. The U.S. Bureau of the Census should be asked to pull together a special report on Indian girls and women as a result of their 1970 findings. Such a report then should be circulated by NIE to Indian women for extensive comment for the purpose of organizing, prior to the 1980 census, several pilot projects on this subject.

5. A number of pilot comparative studies should be funded with regard to selected boarding and public school education of Indian girls. These studies should examine: (1) subjects taught; (2) achievement; (3) counseling and guidance; (4) student, parental, faculty, and staff attitudes; and (5) career choices of girls involved. From such analyses and comparisons, recordkeeping information systems and data can be developed.

All the papers at the conference touched on the problem of gathering data on Indians, and Indian girls and women in particular. Our first research endeavor must relate to organizing and implementing a reporting system that can overcome this gap. Such data will make it possible to identify and plan the other critical research items designed for Indian girls and women.

The girls and women who are the first Americans have a proud heritage to share with all Americans. It is my hope that this conference will lead to such sharing many times over!

NOTES

[1] OSC/Asst. Secretary for Planning and Evaluation/DHEW, A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol. III American Indians, pp. i-iii.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population: Nonwhite Population by Race, PC(2)-1C; 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports: American Indians, PC(2)-1F.

[3] Ibid.

[4] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population: Non-White Population by Race, PC(2)-1C; 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports: American Indians, PC(2)-1F.

[5] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1; Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1; Subject Reports: American Indians, PC(2)-1F.

[6] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1; Subject Reports: American Indians, PC(2)-1F.

[7] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of the Population Subject Reports: Nonwhite Population by Race, PC(2)-1C.

[8] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Summary, PC(1)-C1; Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1; Subject Reports: American Indians, PC(2)-1F.

[9] Indian Population in the United States and Alaska, 1910, p. 9.

[10] Ibid., p. 39.

[11] Compendium of Eleventh Census: 1890, Part III, House Misc. Doc. 3410 Part 6, U.S. House of Representatives, 52nd Congress, 1st Session, p. 1120.

[12] The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska 1930, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, p. 130.

[13] Population by Race, Nativity, and Sex, 1920 to 1970 and Urban and Rural 1970, U.S. Census 1970, p. 118.

[14] Population by Ethnic Origin, 1969 to 1973 and by Selected Characteristics, 1973, p. 119. Ethnics here means English, French, German, Irish.

[15] U.S. American State Papers 1815-1827, 15th Congress, 1st Session, No. 151, Vol. 2.

[16] U.S. Congress, Senate Doc., 26th Congress, 1st Session Cong. Serial Set #354, pp. 343-344.

[17] Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1921, pp. 7-8.

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APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE A.1

AMERICAN INDIAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1900 to 1970

Census year	American Indian population	Change from preceding census*	
		Number	Percent
1970	792,730	269,139	51.4
1960	523,591	166,092	46.5
1950	357,499	12,247	3.5
1940	345,252	1,900	0.6
1930	343,352	98,915	40.5
1920	244,437	-32,490	-11.7
1910	276,927	39,731	16.8
1900	237,196	-	-

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*Changes in the growth of American Indian population resulted, in part, from differences in procedures for classifying persons of mixed racial descent.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-B1.

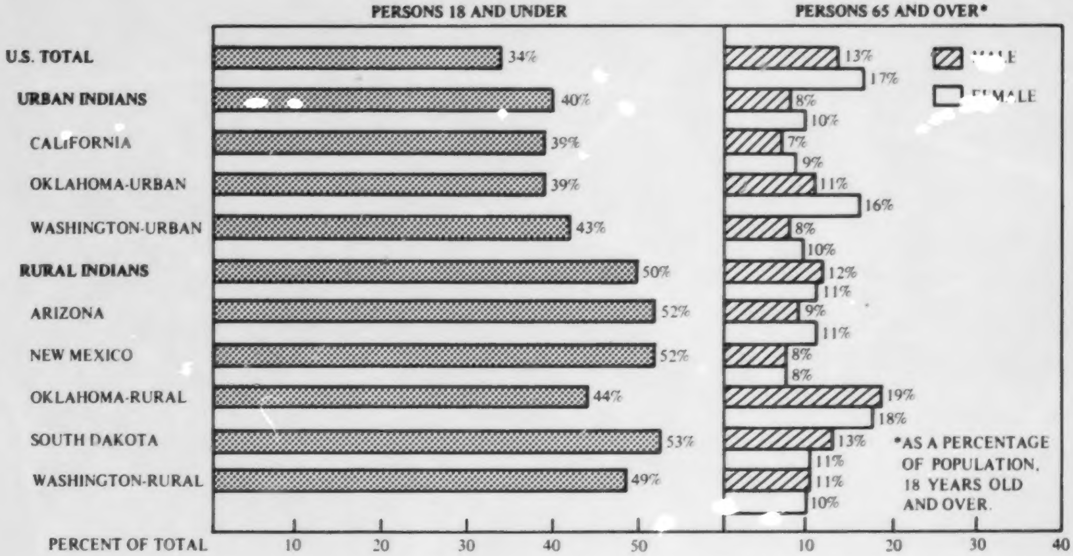
TABLE A.2

THE MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF EMPLOYED AMERICAN INDIAN, ALEUT, AND ESKIMO WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN 1970

Occupation	American Indian	Aleut and Eskimo
Total employed	73,766	2,088
Percent	100%	100%
Professional, technical workers	11.1	8.8
Managers and administrators (except farm)	2.4	5.2
Sales workers	4.0	3.1
Clerical workers	25.1	26.0
Craft and kindred workers	2.1	1.0
Operatives (including transport)	18.7	10.7
Laborers (except farm)	1.3	1.4
Farm workers	2.3	1.7
Service workers (except private household)	26.3	34.3
Private household workers	6.7	8.0

The two largest occupations for Indian women were service work and clerical work outside the home.

TABLE A2 (cont.)



INCIDENCE OF PERSONS 18 AND UNDER AND 65 AND OLDER AMONG INDIANS IN SELECTED AREAS

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, PC (1)-B1 Subject Reports: American Indians, PC (2)-1F.

This chart shows that Indians have one-and-a-half times as many children under 18 as the Nation as a whole, even though the death rate of Indian children under 5 years of age continues to be twice the rate for all American children. (Indian Health Service, computer data, 1971).

THE STATUS OF AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Clara Sue Kidwell

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally the American Indian woman has been stereotyped as a fat squaw, trudging along 10 paces behind her man. In 1901, Christian missionary Joseph Gilfillan described the tall, graceful Ojibwe male, bounding gracefully through the forest unburdened except for his bow and arrow, while behind him plodded the stodgy, rotund Ojibwe female, bearing an enormous burden on her back. Gilfillan attributed the rotund and stodgy nature of the female to the fact that generations of Ojibwe women had borne tremendous burdens on their backs and, in some evolutionary sense, had been weighted down by them.[1] The opposite, and much less common, extreme of this stereotype is that of the exotic Indian maiden, large of eye and breast, whose lasciviousness was commented on by many early travelers in North America. Both Rayna Green and Shirley Hill Witt have described this stereotype.[2]

Certainly in the past, American Indian women have played roles far different from those dictated by stereotypes. Women who presently are involved in higher education can look to historical models of Indian women as students and educators. Susette La Flesche, an Omaha, was educated at the Elizabeth Institute for Young Ladies in Elizabeth, New Jersey, from 1872 to 1875, after attending a Christian mission school on the Omaha reservation. In order to obtain a teaching position in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) school on the reservation, she wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs protesting that BIA was not implementing its policy of Indian preference in hiring. She also defied the Indian agent's refusal to allow her to leave the reservation to take an examination for a teaching certificate. Finally, she was given a position at the agency day school (at $20 per month--one-half the salary paid to non-Indian teachers).[3] She gained renown by touring the east coast, speaking out against the forced removal of the Ponca Indians from their reservation in Nebraska to one in Oklahoma. She generally was known by the English translation of her Omaha name, "Bright Eyes."

In 1878, Sara Winnemucca, daughter of the famous Paiute leader in Nevada, established a school for Indian children at Vancouver Barracks, Washington Territory. Whether she ever had any formal education is not clear from her autobiography.[4]

Susan La Flesche, the sister of Susette, went to Hampton Institute in Virginia, where she graduated in 1886. She was admitted to the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, from which she graduated in 1889 at the head of her class, thus becoming the first American Indian woman physician.[5]

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The contemporary stereotype of the Indian woman is generally that of the poverty-stricken hag, totally subservient to her man and worn out with childbearing. There are some unfortunate elements of truth in this last stereotype. Indians have the highest rate of natural increase of any of the population subgroups in the United States--3 percent per year. The birth rate in 1970 was 155 per 1,000 Indian women ages 15-44 (for nonwhites and whites the rates were 114 and 84 per 1,000, respectively).[6] With regard to income, the Office of Special Concerns in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) reported in 1974 that "the income level of American Indians nationally, whether for persons or families, males or females, is significantly lower than that of any other group in the population."[7] The median income was $1,697 for Indian women, $2,404 for all U.S. women, and $6,614 for all U.S. men.[8]

If the statistics seem to support the stereotype, they certainly do not define the role of the American Indian woman. Table 1 shows that American Indian women in higher education constitute a very small percentage of the total American Indian female population in the country. In 1970, according to the Bureau of the Census (BOC), 23,632 Native American women had completed some college (10.1 percent of the total American Indian female population).[9] Only 5,861 had completed 4 or more years of college (2.5 percent of the total American Indian female population). Current enrollments were not indicated for women.[10] As shown in table 2 in Helen Scheirbeck's paper, only 3.5 percent of the total male population had completed 4 years or more of college.[11] Indian women who had completed 4 years of college thus constituted approximately 0.76 percent of the total Native American population in 1970. However, their contributions to Indian communities have been much more significant than their limited numbers might indicate.

TABLE 1

DATA ON NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Numbers and percentages of Native American Women	TOTAL Over 16 years	16 to 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 & over
Number over 16 years old (a)	233 266 (100%)	32 740 (14%)	33 213 (14.2%)	50 111 (21.5%)	39 173 (16.8%)	54 929 (23.5%)	23 10 (9.9%)
Median school years completed	10.5	10.6	12.2	11.5	10.4	9.2	7.5
% of high school graduates	34.6	19.2	57.7	44.8	34.8	28.4	14.9
Number who have been to college (b)	23 632 (100%)	953 (4%)	5634 (23.8%)	6566 (27.8%)	3925 (16.6%)	5201 (22%)	1353 (5.7%)
Expressed as a % of the number over 16 years (b/a)	10.1	2.9	17	13.1	10	9.5	5.9
Number with 1-3 years college (c)	17 771 (100%)	945 (5.3%)	5029 (28.3%)	4610 (25.9%)	2726 (15.3%)	3653 (20.5%)	808 (4.5%)
Expressed as a % of those over 16 years (c/a)	7.6	2.9	15.1	9.2	7.0	6.7	3.5
Number with 4 or more years college	5861 (100%)	8 (.1%)	605 (10.3%)	1956 (33.4%)	1199 (20.5%)	1548 (26.4%)	545 (9.3%)
Expressed as a % of those who have attended college (d/b)	24	.8	10.7	29.8	30.5	29.8	40.3
Expressed as a % of the number over 16 years old (d/a)	2.5	.02	1.8	3.9	3.1	2.8	2.4

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-1F, American Indians (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), table 5.

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TABLE 2

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM FISCAL YEAR 1974

Area	Total number of students	Number of under-graduates	Number of graduate students	Undergraduates earning degrees	Graduates earning degrees
Grand totals	13,895	13,374	521	1,141	226
Aberdeen[1]	1,852	1,829	23	126	2
Albuquerque	751	738	13	77	1
Anadarko	1,156	1,086	70	103	6
Billings	975	975	0	48	0
Eastern	235	229	6	5	0
Juneau	1,197	1,160	37	175	33
Minneapolis	1,540	1,512	28	150	1
Muskogee	1,826	1,749	77	193	76
Navajo[2]	1,820	1,820	0	96	0
Phoenix	912	893	19	63	4
Portland	907	887	20	64	6
Sacramento	512	496	16	41	9
Special programs[3]	212	0	212	0	88

[1] Includes students enrolled in Sinte Gleska and Lakota Indian Junior Colleges.
[2] Includes students enrolled in Navajo Community College.
[3] Includes students under American Indian Scholarships contract, American Indian Law Program and those enrolled in Indian School Administrator's Program.

Note: Approximately 55 percent of the students are single and 45 percent are married.
Source: United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Indian Education Programs. Fiscal Year 1974 Statistics Concerning Indian Education (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Indian Junior College, 1974).

The subject population available for this study is not only small, it is also diffuse. According to Bureau of Indian Affairs' estimates received from the Office of the Indian Education Resources Center, Division of Evaluation, Research, and Development, Bureau of Indian Affairs in Albuquerque, New Mexico, approximately 16,500 American Indian college students received scholarships and attended nearly 600 institutions of higher learning throughout the continental United States during the 1974-75 academic year. BIA does not keep specific records by sex, and it is difficult to ascertain how many of the Indian students who have been or are currently supported by BIA are male and how many are female. The most current statistics available on total enrollment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' higher education program are those from fiscal year 1974, and shown in table 2. They indicate a total of 13,895 students receiving aid.[12] A survey conducted by the Office of Evaluation and Program Review of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1973 drew 2,736 responses, approximately 21 percent of nearly 13,000 students enrolled in college under BIA's higher education program during the 1972-73 academic year. Of the respondents, 52 percent were female.[13] Because of the nature of the survey, voluntary participation by students was required (questionnaires were mailed out, and students were requested to mail them back). From the response rates, it appears that either there was a slightly higher percentage (52 percent to 48 percent) of female students than male students or that Indian female students are more conscientious than males in filling out and returning questionnaires.

Only one brief report from the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Division of Evaluation, Research, and Development showed data by sex. That report will be mentioned later in this paper.

The data available concerning total numbers of Indian students are confusing. The Bureau of Indian Affairs reported a total of 13,895 students under its sponsorship in fiscal year 1974 (see table 2). Of that number, 13,374 were undergraduates and 512 were graduate students. For the fall 1974 academic term, the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported a total of 32,757 Indian students, of whom 14,544 were female and 18,213 were male. A total of 3,465 graduate students were reported, of whom 1,491 were female and 1,974 were male.[14] These data are shown in table 3. The 1970 census showed only 14,191 American Indian students enrolled in college (no statistics by sex were included).[15] The Office for Civil Rights data come from self-identification forms that are generally issued by universities and colleges when students register. Self-identification makes the accuracy of the data questionable because one cannot necessarily assume that all students are identifying themselves as others would identify them. The number of reported full-time Indian undergraduate students raises some suspicion as to the actual Indian identity of those students. If the 1970 census reported only 14,191 American Indian students on a basis of self-identification, it seems unlikely that the total would have increased by a factor of almost 3 by 1974.

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS--NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

			Percentage of total student population
Undergraduate (full time)	Total	32,757	0.6
	Female	14,544	0.6
	Male	18,213	0.6
Graduate (full and part time)	Total	3,465	0.3
	Female	1,491	0.3
	Male	1,974	0.3
Professional enrollment (full and part time)	Total	730	0.3
	Female	191	0.4
	Male	539	0.3

Graduate (full time)	Total	1,397	0.4
	Female	539	0.4
	Male	858	0.3
Professional (full time)	Total	538	0.3
	Female	101	0.3
	Male	437	0.3
Undergraduate (full and part time)	Total	49,401	0.6
	Female	23,026	0.6
	Male	26,375	0.6

Regional Breakdown of Enrollment Statistics of Native American Full- time Undergraduate Students

Region 1 (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont)

Total	847	0.2
Female	298	0.2
Male	449	0.2

Region 2 (New Jersey, New York)

Total	1,580	0.2
Female	703	0.2
Male	877	0.3

Region 3 (Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia)

Total	1,081	0.2
Female	449	0.2
Male	632	0.2

Region 4 (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee)

Total	2,015	0.2
Female	904	0.2
Male	1,111	0.2

Region 5 (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin)

Total	3,664	0.3
Female	1,648	0.3
Male	2,016	0.3

Region 6 (Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas)

Total	6,462	1.1
Female	2,929	1.2
Male	3,533	1.1

Region 7 (Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska)

Total	2,091	0.7
Female	935	0.7
Male	1,156	0.8

Region 8 (Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming)

Total	3,287	1.5
Female	1,646	1.8
Male	1,641	1.3

Region 9 (Arizona, California, Nevada)

Total	8,585	1.1
Female	3,576	1.0
Male	5,009	1.1

Region 10 (Idaho, Oregon, Washington)

Total	3,145	1.4
Female	1,356	1.4
Male	1,789	1.4

Source: "Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1974." (Washington, D.C. Data Management Center, Computer Operations Division, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.)

In an attempt to compile current data on American Indian students supported by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, regional offices of BIA were contacted for information concerning the current numbers of college students that they listed. The response was limited. Of the 11 offices contacted, 6 responded. The Anchorage office reported 417 females and 367 males for the 1976-77 school year; Aberdeen had 369 females and 456 males, but pointed out that it did not keep records on all students in the Aberdeen area; Sacramento reported 355 females and 354 males for the 1975-76 school year; the Muskogee area office had no statistics, but recalled that at some time in the past approximately one-half of their scholarship holders were female and that they were funding approximately 2,500 students this year; the Billings office had no statistics at the area office level, but sent a list of agencies to contact; and the Minneapolis office sent a form letter listing agencies to contact for scholarship application forms and information. Time did not permit a followup with the unresponsive area offices or with the listed agencies. Since no current statistics were forthcoming from the Bureau of Indian Affairs' central office in Washington, D.C., or its division of research in Albuquerque, New Mexico, one must conclude that there are no current statistics compiled in one place that would show how many Indian men and how many Indian women in higher education are currently supported by BIA.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

This paper will describe a group of people--American Indian women--who are currently involved in higher education (community and junior colleges, 4-year colleges and universities, and graduate programs) either as students or as faculty members. Any conclusions about current enrollment statistics must be extrapolated from figures covering the 1974 fiscal year, and no definitive statements can be made. Thus, there is a limit to the quantitative descriptions which can be made of the target group.

Certain conclusions have been drawn about the group as a result of interpretations of past information. Descriptive and qualitative information has been gathered on the basis of questionnaires and personal interviews. What will emerge will be a profile of predominant characteristics and a consensus of personal perceptions that American Indian women in higher education have about themselves.

Review of the Literature

In a review of the literature on American Indian students in higher education, information on women must be extracted from general studies, containing very little, if any, sex-specific data. Most of the sources identified consist of research reports prepared by various government agencies (often by contract with private research firms) or of theses and dissertations written by graduate students in education programs. Many of these reports and theses are available only through Dissertation Abstracts, interlibrary loan, or the Education Resources Information Clearinghouse (ERIC).

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from the literature that has been reviewed to date. Three studies of high school students can be used as some indication of the pool of students available for college work. In one study of Indian students, a sample of 345 students was identified from BIA as well as public and private schools in the Southwest. Those students represented all Indian students enrolled in the eighth grade in the fall of 1962. Of those, 182 were male and 163 were female. Over a 4-year period, the dropout rate was practically the same for males and females--38.66 and 38.73 percent, respectively.[16] This would indicate that Indian women in high school are probably as likely candidates for college as men. A study of 135 urban Indian teenagers in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1968 revealed that 95 were interested in attending college, while 40 were not. Of the number aspiring to college, 52.6 percent were female and 47.4 percent were male.[17]

In a study by Larson, an attempt was made to test the effects of income levels on aspiration to college and educational behavior of all students in four rural high schools in Montana with significant Indian populations. The study indicated that there was little correlation between income level and educational behavior or aspirations of Indian and non-Indian students and that what correlation did exist was suggestive rather than definitive. Larson concluded that cultural factors might have to be considered to account for differences in responses between Indian and non-Indian students. For example, there were some significant differences in percentages of Indian and non-Indian students who aspired to college, even within the same income level (48 percent and 61 percent, respectively).[18] Larson's data, unfortunately, were not broken down by sex.

In its investigation of Indian education in 1969, the Kennedy subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported that a study of Indian students in BIA schools showed that three-fourths of them wanted to go on to college, that 3 percent desired graduate studies and that less than 18 percent wanted their education to end after high school.[19]

Once the Indian student, whether male or female, gets to college, other interesting patterns emerge. According to a report from the Office of Special Concerns, although more Indian students are graduating from high school in recent years, not as many are completing college as might be expected:

> A comparison of 1960 and 1970 data . . . shows that the marked increase in Indian high school graduates is not reflected in data on those completing college. While the percentage of persons completing high school (and thus available for college) has increased more than 10% since 1960, the percentage completing college has increased by slightly more than 1% . . . . Only 1.5% of rural Indians . . . have completed college, the lowest proportion of college educated of any population group.
>
> Urban women are three times more likely to have obtained a college education than rural women (3.8% to 1.2% respectively), but the urban rate is less than one-half of the national percentage of women who are college educated.[20]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs' Higher Education Newsletter indicates that approximately 60 percent of Indian youth were completing high school in 1970, compared to 40 percent 10 years before. About 70 percent of Indian high school graduates went on to some type of postsecondary training; 25 percent of those entered college.[21]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs served approximately 13,000 students in its higher education program during the 1972-73 academic year, and the evaluation of randomly selected students carried out by its Division of Evaluation, Research, and Development has already been mentioned. In that evaluation, 77 percent of those surveyed were in the 18 to 25-year-old age range, although 33 percent of that number were between the ages of 21 and 25.[22] Blood quanta reported were: one-fourth, 18 percent; one-half, 23 percent; three-fourths, 12 percent; and four-fourths, or full bloods, 47 percent. Sixty-nine percent said that their first language was English, and 84 percent said that they had attended other than a BIA high school. Seventy-seven percent said their parents provided the prime motivation for their going to college. Only 8 percent of their fathers and 6 percent of their mothers were college graduates. Only 35 percent of their fathers had completed high school, although 45 percent of their mothers had done so.[23] The largest single group majoring in one subject--education--was 22 percent. Eleven percent were in social work; 6 percent were in medicine, mostly nursing; and 61 percent were in other fields.[24]

The emphasis on education as a major field of study in college seems to be the norm for many students, as shown in table 4. The largest number of graduates sponsored by the BIA in fiscal year 1975 was in education (335), while health fields (198) and sociology (165) accounted for a total of 353 graduates.[25] A study by Hauck of graduates of Black Hills State College shows that 24 male and 6 female American Indian graduates of the college between 1948 and 1970 indicated some field of education as a major.[26] Woods and Harkins, in their Minneapolis study of Indian teenagers, however, indicate that less than one-fourth of the students aspiring to college were interested in becoming teachers.[27]

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS GRADUATING IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONS WHILE UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS HIGHER EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

FY Year 1975

Education	335
Health fields	198
Sociology	165
Business	110
Psychology	82
Fine arts	57
English	38
History	34
Counseling	29
Biology	27
Political science	27
Home economics	22
Anthropology	19
Ethnic studies	19
Industrial arts	17
Communication arts	16
Computer science	7
Agriculture	7
Chemistry	6
Religion	6
Philosophy	6
Geology	6
Veterinary medicine	6
Architecture	4
Wildlife science	4
Humanities	3
Geography	3
Mathematics	3
Economics	3
Linguistics	2
Horticulture	2
Urban planning	2

Journalism	14	Zoology	2
Engineering	13	Electronics	2
Law (undergraduate)	12	Forestry	2
Liberal arts	12	Research	2
Community services	11	Photography	1
Police science	10	American studies	1
Natural resources (Environmental science)	9	Library science	1
		Archeology	1
		Recreation	1
		Other (unlisted)	9

Special Programs (advanced degrees)	
Law	35
American Indian scholarships	65
Ind. school adm. program	30
Grand total	1497

Source: Information obtained from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Evaluation Research and Development, Albuquerque, New Mexico: courtesy of Mr. LeRoy Falling.

Abrahams administered the Kuder Preference Record--Vocational Form-C to all Indian freshmen and sophomore students at Arizona State University and found their vocational preferences were primarily in artistic and clerical fields. Men's interests were lowest for outdoors with scientific next to highest and artistic highest. For women, interests were lowest for mechanical with artistic next to highest and clerical highest.[28] The interests seem to follow traditional patterns of sexual stereotyping. The high interest in artistic areas among both men and women might be a cultural factor, but if one speculates on cultural factors, the low level of interest in outdoors seems inconsistent with traditional cultural patterns.

In terms of academic achievement, at least two studies have attempted to identify factors leading to Indian students' success in college. In a study of students who were enrolled in 43 colleges in the Southwest from 1958 through the first semester of the 1961-62 academic year, researchers found that

> Only 26 out of the 402 Indians in school, for whom grade point averages were available, had a grade average of 2.75 or higher. Twelve of those 26 students were from southwestern tribes. Thirty-five percent of the Indians in school had less than a "C" average (2.00).
>
> On standardized tests the Indians scored lower than the national norms in all areas on all tests, except on the numerical, abstract reasoning, clerical and spelling sub-tests of the Differential Aptitude Test. Economic and social variables were not related to grade. Cultural and academic variables were related to grades.[29]

This represents only a partial statement of the findings, but it may serve to represent some profile of the students studied. In terms of success rate, the researchers concluded:

> There seems to be a definite, but not striking, tendency for students who come from homes where English is never spoken to do better in college than the students from the other categories.
>
> Forty-one percent of the students from homes where English is not spoken received a grade point average of 2.0 or better. Thirty-two percent, 31 percent, and 35 percent respectively of students from homes where English is spoken "some," "usually," and "always" received a grade point average of 2.0 or better.[30]

This study raises some interesting comparisons with the Bureau survey of students in higher education, where 69 percent of the students reported English as their first language. The Southwestern study did not include dropout rates in the report published in the Journal of American Indian Education, since it was a summary of the longer report and does not reflect all the findings. The relationship between bilingualism and success in education at the college level for American Indians still seems to bear considerable investigation.

In a study of 63 randomly selected Indian students at New Mexico State University between the fall quarter of 1967 and the spring semester of 1971, "persisters and non-persisters" were identified on the basis of statistics on dropouts. The investigators concluded, "The three most important factors for classifying persisting and non-persisting Indian students at New Mexico State University were: college grade point average, sex, and rank in high school, in that order."[31] In relation to sex, it was noted that "among the persisters, 41% were female, but only 23.5% of the non-persisters were female."[32] Thus, in at least one case sex seems to be related to persistence in college.

Statistics furnished by the Bureau of Indian Affairs Division of Evaluation, Research, and Development showed that of a sample of Indian students at Arizona State University in Tempe during the 1973-74 academic year, female students in each class (Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior) had consistently higher overall grade point averages than male students except for sophomore female students, whose grade point average was 1.95, compared with 2.12 for males.[33] The size of the sample was not indicated, so it may be misleading to generalize from these data.

A research study conducted by Norris at the University of New Mexico in 1970 showed that in the fall quarter of 1970, women had significantly higher grade point averages than men: a mean of 2.10 for women and 1.75 for men. However, over the year there was a higher dropout rate for women students than for men (20.63 percent for women and 16.01 percent for men). The sample consisted of 63 women and 87 men.[34]

Because of the varying and incidental nature of most of the statistics available on Indian women students, it is impossible to draw any specific conclusions concerning their numbers or their academic achievements. There seems to be a general trend for women to have somewhat higher grade point averages than male students, but no definitive statements can be made.

Fuchs and Havighurst estimate that "the ratio of men to women among postsecondary students is approximately 55 to 45."[35] Postsecondary education refers to vocational as well as academic education. If the ratios of men to women indicated by the Office for Civil Rights' data are true, American Indian men outnumber American Indian women in higher education. However, this conclusion is based on inference only. If any assessment is to be made of higher education for American Indian students generally, not just women, there will need to be a major evaluation of recordkeeping and sources of statistics, so the numbers of those students can be determined accurately.

Women in Graduate Programs

Of the recipients of grants from the Native American graduate fellowship program funded by the Ford Foundation, 12 withdrew before completing a degree, 6 have completed degrees, 22 are currently enrolled in graduate programs, and the status of 7 is uncertain. The object of the program is to train Native Americans for college teaching programs, and students are expected to enter a Ph. D. program. Of the Female Ford Fellows in graduate programs (or who had completed degrees) in 1976, 12 selected some area of education as their major field of study. There were four others who entered psychology; three, history; two, sociology or social work; two, anthropology; and two, linguistics. Other fields represented were public health, genetics, architecture, literature, music, and speech.

In the special program for Indian law students administered through the Center for Indian Law at the University of New Mexico, 38 women and 97 men are enrolled in law schools throughout the United States. Of the 1st-year students, 17 are women; of 2d-year students, 12 are women, and of 3d-year students, 9 are women.

In the Harvard Graduate School of Education's program for Native Americans in educational administration, 10 men and 10 women were enrolled during the 1974-75 academic year. Of those, five women and two men were Ed. D. candidates.

In the master's degree program in public health for Native Americans at the University of California, Berkeley, in the fall of 1976, there are seven women in the entering class and four women in the 2d-year class. One woman is entering the program this fall at the University of Minnesota. One women graduated from the program in 1972, three in 1973, four in 1974, and four in 1975.

American Indian Scholarships, Inc., in Taos, New Mexico, supported 106 women and 155 men in higher education during the 1975-76 academic year.

This organization has taken the primary responsibility for administering HEW- and BIA-funded graduate educational programs. Forty-eight of the women chose some field of education. Fourteen chose guidance and counseling, and 10 were studying social work. Sixty-three students were attending colleges geographically near their place of permanent residence, i.e., Sioux women were likely to attend schools in the Dakotas. Choices by women who left their geographical home areas appear to have been made on the basis of the existence of Indian-oriented higher education programs, such as the University of Arizona for education majors. These conclusions are based on a quick analysis of the list supplied by the American Indian Scholarships, Inc., office. Names were used to indicate sex (not an entirely foolproof method of determination). As rough as the data are, however, they support a general pattern of Indian women entering some field of education or social service and attending a public college or university fairly close to home.

The survey of American Indian Studies programs conducted by Patricia Locke for the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education in 1974 was useful in determining how many women were involved in higher education as faculty members. Fifty-nine women appeared to be in faculty positions, 10 of whom appear to be instructors in language programs. Thirty-one women were listed as counselors or directors of programs without faculty status.[36]

Results of the Student and Faculty Survey

In any study of a female population in a minority ethnic group, one must determine to what extent the question to be addressed is racial or female identity, or what combination of the two creates an identity. The questionnaires shown in tables 5 and 6 were distributed to American Indian women in higher education. These questionnaires were primarily designed to identify certain objective data which would be especially relevant to the role of American Indian women in their own communities and families. They were sent to Haskell Indian Junior College, Lawrence, Kansas, to American Indian or Native American Studies programs at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, as well as to the University of Montana at Missoula, Montana, and were distributed at the University of California at Berkeley. Indian Studies programs were used as a means of distribution because these programs generally maintain lists of American Indian students, even though not all Indian students major in those programs. Sixty-one questionnaires were returned. Of those, 30 were received from Haskell Indian Junior College, 14 from the University of Montana, 12 from the University of Oklahoma, and 5 from the University of California. A summary of responses from the student questionnaires is included in table 7.

The first page of the questionnaire was intended to elicit descriptive data. Questions were asked about place of birth, age, location of grade school and high school, tribe, degree of Indian blood, class, major, career objectives, and degree objectives. In relation to family background, questions were asked about numbers of brothers and sisters in college. The women in the survey were asked a series of questions related to their intentions for their future education--whether they intended to complete degrees, to go on to graduate school, or to work after they graduated.

TABLE 5

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE:

THE STATUS OF INDIAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The purpose of this questionnaire is to compile information for a research study on the status of Indian women in higher education. The study is being sponsored by the Women's Research Bureau of the National Institute of Education in Washington, D.C. as part of an extensive study on Indian women in the United States today.

There has been very little research done on Indian women in higher education. Your assistance in filling out this questionnaire will be most valuable in contributing to the available knowledge on this subject. The results of the study will be published by the Women's Research Program.

Clara Sue Kidwell
Associate Professor
Native American Studies
University of California
Berkeley, California

Birthplace ____________________

Tribe ____________________

Current Home Address ____________
____

Current School Address ____________
____

Number of Brothers in your family___

Number of Sisters in your family___

Age ____________________

Degree of Indian blood ________

College Class

Freshman Sophomore Junior

Senior Graduate

Major ____________________

What degree are you working toward?

AA BA BS MA MS MED. EdD. PhD.

Other (Please specify)

Where did you attend elementary school? ____________________

Where did you attend high school? ____________________

If you are an undergraduate, do you intend to go on to complete a bachelor's degree?

Yes No

Do you intend to go to graduate school? Yes No Uncertain

Do you intend to work after you graduate? Yes No

If yes, what kind of employment or career do you expect to have? ____

Number of brothers attending college ______________________

Number of sisters attending college ______________________

Number of years of school completed by mother ______________________

Number of years of school completed by father ______________________

What do you feel is the most significant factor that has motivated you to go to college? (If you feel that one of the following is significant, please rank the factors in order of importance, 1, 2, 3, etc.)

______________ Parental pressure

______________ Need for future employment

______________ Desire for a professional career

______________ General interest

______________ Encouragement by high school teacher or guidance counselor

______________ Other (Please explain)

Do you feel that you have had less equal more encouragement than your brothers (or other close male relatives your age) to go to college? (Please circle one response)

Has anyone ever discouraged you from attending college because you are female?

Yes No

Do you feel that you are in a competitive situation with the men in your classes?

Yes No

Is it your perception that women students perform

More poorly   as well as   better than   men in your classes?

If you feel that you have experienced discrimination at any time in your college career, do you feel that it was because you were Indian, or because you were a woman?

Indian   Woman

Have you ever been told that it is not the Indian way for a woman to get a college education (or any comments to that effect)?

Yes   No

Do you feel that you are going against your own Indian customs or culture to get a college degree?

Could you briefly describe what you feel is the typical role that a woman is expected to play in your tribal culture.

TABLE 6

FACULTY QUESTIONNAIRE:

THE STATUS OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

This questionnaire is being used to gather information for a study on the status of Native American women in higher education, sponsored by the Women's Research Program of the National Institute of Education. The study is part of a major research project on the status of Native American women generally in the United States. Since there is virtually no research in this area being carried on at the present time, your assistance will be valuable in contributing to the knowledge of the topic.

Clara Sue Kidwell
Associate Professor
Native American Studies
3415 Dwinelle Hall
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

Name

Place of Birth

Tribal Affiliation

Grade School attended (name and location)

High School Attended (name and location)

Highest degree you have obtained, academic field, and name of university or college awarding the degree

Present position (title, academic area, and location)

If you feel that you have ever been discriminated against in your college career, do you feel that it was more because you were Indian or because you were a woman?

Did you receive less, more, or as much encouragement as your male relatives to attend college?

What motivated you to go to college?

What motivated you to seek a higher degree?

Have you ever been put down by an Indian man for being an educated woman?

What major function would you define for yourself as a Native American woman in higher education, i.e., helping Indian students through school, representing the Indian community to non-Indian people, serving Indian communities, etc.?

May I have your permission to quote your statements where appropriate to the research? Yes No

TABLE 7

SUMMARY OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA FROM STUDENTS

Background (place of birth, current home address, and/or place of high school)

Urban	34
Rural or reservation community	27

Educational Background (type of school attended)

Urban	Mission	Bureau of Indian Affairs	Public
Elementary	1	2	30-1/2*
High School		4-1/2	29-1/2*
Rural or Reservation			
Elementary	6	1	20
High School	5	6	15

Tribal Groups designated by geographical area of tribe

Northern Plains	15
Southern Plains	16
Southwest	6
California-Nevada	1
Plateau	1
Eastern Woodlands	7
Five Civilized Tribes	5
Caribbean	1

Age	Frequency	Age	Frequency
18	1	26	2
19	9	27	3
20	8	28	1
21	5	29	1
22	5	30	1
23	7	31-35	1
24	5	36-40	5
25	3	42	2

---

*1/2 means half the respondents attended both.

Degree of Indian Blood	Frequency
4/4	30
3/4	4
1/2	18
1/4	6
NR	3

College Class	Frequency
Freshman	16
Sophomore	23
Junior	3
Senior	5
Graduate	3
NR	11

Number of Brothers in Family	Frequency	Number of Sisters in Family	Frequency
0	6	0	5
1	17	1	10
2	7	2	19
3	15	3	8
4	8	4	10
5	4	5	5
6	1	6	3
7	2	7	1
11	1		

Degree being worked toward	Frequency
AA	11
BA	21
BS	7
MA	1
MS	3
Ed. D.	1
Ph. D.	6
MPH	2
NR	8

Do you intend to complete a bachelor's degree?	
Yes	49
No	4
NR	8

Do you intend to go to graduate school?

Yes	28
No	7
Uncertain	22
NR	4

Number of Brothers in College	Frequency	Number of Sisters in College	Frequency
1	11	1	20
2	7	2	2
3	2		

Number of Years of School Completed by Parents

Mother	Frequency	Father	Frequency
1-5	0	1-5	2
6-10	19	6-10	20
11-12	24	11-12	16
Some College	9	Some College	8
College Degree	2	College Degree	3
NR	7	Advanced Degree	1
		NR	11

Significance of motivational factors (number of times rank was assigned)

Rank	Parental Pressure	Employment	Career	Interest	Teacher or Counselor Encouragement
1	5	14	27	17	3
2	7	12	12	10	3
3	10	14	10	4	3
4	7	9	0	7	4
5	4	0	5	0	12
6				1	1

Do you plan to work after graduation?

Yes	47
No	1
NR	2

Do you receive less, equal, or more encouragement than brothers or other close male relatives to go to college?

Less	6
Equal	26-1/2
More	23-1/2
NR	5

Were you ever discouraged from going to college because you were a woman:

Yes	14
No	46

If you feel you have been discriminated against in your college career, was it more because you were Indian or because you were a woman?

Indian	30
Woman	10
Both	9
NR	7

Have you ever been told that it was not the Indian way for a woman to go to college?

Yes	13
No	48

Do you feel that you are going against your own Indian customs or culture to get a college degree?

Yes	4
No	53
Sometimes	4

Do you feel in a competitive situation with the men in your classes?

Yes	28
No	32
NR	1

Is it your perception that Indian women perform more poorly than, equal to, or better than Indian men in your classes?

More poorly	2
As well as	41
Better	14
Some women do better	3
NR	1

It was hoped that identifying motivational and attitudinal factors would reveal the relative weights of family (or cultural) background and general societal values attached to education, i.e., economic benefits. The specifically feminine concerns of women students were identified by asking them whether they had received less, equal, or more encouragement to go to college than their male relatives, whether they had ever been discouraged from going to college because they were female, and whether they had been told it was not "the Indian way" for a woman to go to college. A question was also asked about whether the respondent felt she had been discriminated against in her college career and, if so, whether she felt it was because she was a woman or because she was an Indian.

The questionnaire was designed to provide information for a quantitative description of a random sample of American Indian women students and to gather opinions from the women concerning their status as American Indian women in higher education.

The sample can be considered representative in terms of geographical area. Fifteen women were from northern Plains tribes, 16 from southern Plains tribes, 6 from southwest tribes, 1 from a California-Nevada tribe, 2 from New York tribes, 5 from northwest Woodlands tribes, and 5 from the Five Civilized Tribes. Thirty-four were from urban areas and 27 from small rural or reservation communities. This determination was made primarily on the basis of responses to questions about current home address and/or high school attended.

Nineteen of the women were between 18 and 20 years of age, 10 were 21 or 22, 15 were 23 to 25, 9 were 26 to 30, only 1 was in the age range 31-35, while 5 were between 36 and 40, and 2 were 42 years old. However, in terms of college class, 39 women were either freshmen or sophomores, while only 8 were juniors or seniors, and 3 were graduate students. Eleven students did not respond to the question, indicating perhaps uncertainty as to their status or to the terminology. The age range indicates that many women were older than would be expected if they had entered college immediately after completing high school in 12 years. If 39 were freshmen or sophomores, while only 19 were between the ages of 18 and 20, then 20 must have been older than 20. American Indian women apparently either are graduating from high school at later ages than people who go through the educational system in 12 years or they are not entering college directly from high school.

The categories for reporting degree of Indian blood were arbitrarily chosen to avoid having to deal with odd fractions, such as 31/32 or 15/64. These fractions were rounded to the closest quarter. Of the women in the survey, 52 reported having one-half or more Indian blood. College populations have often been reported as having large percentages of quarter bloods. At least one study assumes a correlation between degree of Indian blood and degree of assimilation into white values and attitudes. The author of that study uses that assumption as a basis for seeking a correlation between assimilation and positive attitudes toward college education. He states that "the typical Indian student at South Dakota State University is one-quarter Indian, whereas the typical nonparticipant is three-quarters Indian."[37] In a recent study of 66 Indian students in college in Oklahoma, 29 were full bloods, 18 were one-half, and 19 were one-fourth.[38] The group of women in this study has a lower percentage (9.8 percent) of quarter bloods than seems typical of many of the other studies reviewed. No attempt has been made in this study to correlate any factors of achievement or motivation to blood quantum.

The educational background of the students seems very heavily oriented toward public schools. For instance, only 16 women reported going to a BIA or parochial high school. The majority of students were working either toward associate of arts degrees (11 at Haskell Indian Junior College) or bachelor's degrees (39). Although only 3 reported being graduate students, 13 reported working toward an advanced degree. Eight did not respond to the question, indicating perhaps uncertainty as to degree objective or lack of understanding of the letter abbreviations used to designate various degrees. It was obvious some confusion existed. In several questionnaires, students first indicated that they were working toward an advanced or graduate degree, but indicated later that they did not intend to go to graduate school, or their career objective or major made it apparent that they were in a two-year vocational program. Those responses were discarded from the total count for each degree and were counted with the several "no response." The large majority of students (49) indicated that they intended to complete their bachelor's degrees, 28 that they intended to go to graduate school, another 22 that they were uncertain whether they would go to graduate school or not, and only 7 that they definitely did not intend to go to graduate school. Four students did not respond to this question. Thus, it seems that among the women in this study, there is a strong interest, motivation, and commitment to pursue an advanced degree.

The question concerning number of brothers and sisters in the family was intended to determine whether there was a basis for comparison of family attitudes toward male and female children in relation to a college education. All but six of the women reported having one or more brothers, and all but five reported having one or more sisters. The mothers of the students tended to have higher educational levels than their fathers. Only 16 of the fathers had completed 11 or 12 years of education, while 24 of the mothers had completed 11 or 12 years. Nine of the mothers and eight of the fathers had some college work. Eleven students either indicated that they did not know their fathers' educational level or made no response, while only seven students did not know or did not respond to the same question concerning their mothers. An interesting correlation appeared between that group of students identified as coming from rural or reservation backgrounds and those coming from urban backgrounds. Of the rural or reservation students, 12 reported that their mothers had completed more years of school than their fathers. Only five urban students reported this situation.

Twenty students reported that they had brothers in college and 22 reported having one or more sisters in college (there was a total of 31 brothers and 24 sisters in college).

The questions about attitudes and opinions were aimed primarily at ascertaining the perceptions that the women had of the responses of others toward them as American Indian women in college. The question that asked for a ranking of five motivational factors revealed that career objectives were seemingly most important. "Desire for a professional career" was ranked first 17 times and second 10 times. "Need for future employment" (which was interpreted to be an economic motivation) was ranked first 14 times and second 12 times. The factor receiving the lowest overall ranking was "encouragement by teachers or counselors"--first only 3 times and last 12 times (more last-place rankings than any other factor). If one were to rank the motivational factors on an overall basis for the total population, "career" would be first, "employment" second, "interest" third, "parental pressure" fourth, and "encouragement by teachers or counselors" last. It must be pointed out that not all respondents ranked the factors in numerical order or, if they did, did not rank all five. Some respondents merely checked one or more items, in which case each check was counted as a ranking of one. Among the factors that were listed by respondents under the "other" category were such diverse things as "community encouragement," "boredom with present job," "self-fulfillment," "ambition," and "nowhere else to go." The fact that direct pressure or encouragement from others ranked lowest on the scale of motivational factors would seem to indicate that most American Indian women are motivated by internalized desires (career and interest), rather than simply responding to outside pressure.

Questions that would reveal bias by others toward the American Indian woman who chooses a college education seemed to show racism rather than sexism toward those women. In response to the question about whether women felt that they received less, equal, or more encouragement than male relatives, only six reported receiving less encouragement. Twenty-six felt that they had received equal encouragement, while 23 felt that they had received more, and 1 reported both answers. It would seem that parents may be more anxious for the female offspring to go to college than for their male offspring to do so. In response to the question concerning whether the respondent was ever discouraged from going to college because she was a woman, 14 women replied "yes" and 46 replied "no." No attempt was made to determine whether the discouragement came from Indian or non-Indian sources, and so the question reflects a sexist orientation, rather than a racist one. However, the fact that "no" responses were in such a majority indicates that neither racist nor sexist bias was particularly prevalent as direct influence on the woman's selection of college education.

A question aimed at determining the strength of racist bias by Indians against women in college also revealed that such bias, if it existed at all, was relatively slight. In answer to the question of whether they had ever been told it was not the Indian way for a woman to go to college, only 12 women said "yes," one of them adding a rather caustic comment about "bums who say they are members of AIM (American Indian Movement)" and stating that she did not listen to them anyway. Forty-eight women answered "no" to the question. The question asking whether the women had ever experienced discrimination during their college careers and whether that discrimination was the result of their being Indian or being female indicated that they do perceive bias against themselves. As for the type of discrimination, 30 indicated "Indian," 10 indicated "woman," and 9 indicated "both." Seven women did not respond to the question. There is some uncertainty about whether the women felt that they were expected to respond positively to the question, although it was phrased to indicate that they should respond only if they felt that they had been discriminated against in some way. They were not asked to relate incidents of discrimination in any detail, since those incidents are probably of too personal or complicated a nature to describe in the context of the questionnaire. It would seem, however, that the major source of discrimination (and thus potentially a negative factor in the woman's college career) stemmed from racism rather than sexism.

The question asking whether the women felt that they were in competition with the men in their classes did not indicate any particular trends. The question was based on the assumption that competitive behavior is not consistent with American Indian value systems, and that women who did feel that they were in competitive situations would probably feel some conflict between their own values and the classroom situation. The "yes" and "no" responses to the question were fairly evenly divided (28 and 32, respectively), and only one woman did not respond.

In response to the question of whether the respondent felt she was defying her Indian culture by attending college, the overwhelming response was "no." Fifty-three of the 61 women responded negatively to the question. Only four responded definitely "yes" (two citing traditional beliefs as a reason for their answer), while four gave qualified responses ("sometimes," "in some cases," "sort of," and "seldom"). When these answers were considered in light of the ways in which the women defined the role of women in their tribal cultures, it was obvious that many who accepted the traditional role of women as being wives and mothers also felt that they were not betraying their heritage by attending college (16 out of the 61 "no" responses were from women who defined women's roles as related to home and family). There was wide variety in the responses to the question asking women to define the role of women in their own cultures. Several women felt that they should simply be themselves, two commented on the traditional role of women in matrilineal societies, and another elaborated on the economic needs that compelled women to take jobs.

In choosing careers, the women in the study followed the pattern noted earlier of wanting to enter service-related professions. Of the careers indicated, 14 were in education, 6 in health, 5 in social work, 4 in counseling, 4 in law, and 3 in psychology. Five women from the Haskell group were entering vocational jobs (dental assistant, licensed practical nurse, and printer). Other choices included employment in community development, recreational programs, interior design-architecture, business management, computer work, accounting, government service and, straightforwardly, "anything that pays."

The student questionnaire provides information for a general profile of the American Indian woman as a college student. She is interested in a career, probably one in a social service-related field, intends to work after graduation, is somewhat older than the "typical" student entering college directly out of high school, is given as much or more encouragement by her family to go to college as her male relatives and, if she feels discrimination against herself, attributes it more to racism than to sexism.

The general characteristics that emerge from the review of the literature indicate that, as part of a general population of American Indian college students, she is more likely to have attended a non-BIA high school (this conclusion definitely holds for the sample in this study), is more likely to come from a home in which English is her first language (or if a native language is her first language, it will be the language always spoken in the home), and she is likely to be majoring in some field of education or social service (again, a conclusion borne out in this study), and will be somewhat more likely than her Indian male classmates to complete her degree.

Because of limitations of time and resources, much of what could have been done in the way of computer analysis of data was not done in this study. No attempt was made to correlate variables (except in the most general way) or to test hypotheses. Future research will be needed to do those things.

Some significant questions that might have been asked about marital status and number of children were deliberately omitted from the questionnaire because they were of a personal nature, and not related to the description of the population of the study. Marital status may be an important factor in the educational achievement of American Indian women, however. In a survey of 66 college students in Oklahoma (a survey related to their choice of science or nonscience majors), 34 were male and 32 were female. The report of that survey revealed:

> The male/female differences fit national trends as a whole. Males attributed present success in school to experiences in the armed services, previous work experience, the support of the BIA (financial) and spouses (emotional and financial); and women tended to attribute success to having avoided marriage or getting divorced, even though they felt the lack of financial support more keenly than did the males. The males tended to attribute their previous dropout from school to a 'lack of readiness' and the women to marriage or financial difficulties. Sixty-five percent of the married males claim financial support from working spouses. Only one of the married women claimed support from her husband. Of the divorced and separated males, none had care of children issuing from the previous marriage. All the divorced, and separated (and naturally, the widowed) women had care of the children.[39]

Given the fact that 16 of the 61 students in the present study identified the roles of women in their own tribal cultures as those of wife and mother, it would seem that many Indian women may feel strong pressure to get married and raise children. One woman responded "for my daughter" to the question of motivation. The relationship between an American Indian woman's marital status and her educational motivation and achievement deserves study in its own right.

Information about American Indian faculty members was obtained largely through personal contact. The base of the survey was broadened to include women who were not faculty members but who had completed advanced degrees. Nine completed questionnaires were returned (two of which were not from faculty members but from women who had completed advanced degrees, one a master's in social work and one a Ph. D. in folklore). The questionnaires were distributed in a group setting without a personal followup. In addition, personal interviews were conducted with four women who are either currently in graduate school or who will be entering during the winter quarter of 1977.

These women constitute not so much a random sample of Indian women in higher education as a group of unique individuals. If the number of Indian women in college is small in comparison with the size of the Indian population generally, the size of the group that has either completed a graduate degree or is presently working on one is even smaller.

Of the women who responded to the questionnaire given in table 2, two were born in Texas, four in Oklahoma, one in New York, one in California, and one in South Dakota. Three are Cherokee, one each from the Creek, Choctaw, Southern Cheyenne, Hunkpapa-Sihasapa Lakota, Seneca, and Cahuilla tribes. Six reported receiving more encouragement to go to college than their male relatives; one reported as much encouragement; one reported less encouragement and, in fact, was discouraged from going to college so that a male relative could be sent instead. Five have received Ph. D. degrees, two have completed all work toward a Ph. D. except the dissertation, and two have master's degrees. Six currently hold faculty positions in colleges or universities, one has held college teaching positions, one is employed on an Indian-related project with a national professional organization, and one works in an urban Indian community-based service organization.

Four indicated that they felt they had been discriminated against in their college careers more because they were women; one felt the discrimination was based on the fact that she was Indian. Two felt they had experienced discrimination on both counts, and two indicated no experiences of discrimination. In defining their own roles as American Indian women in higher education, they generally saw themselves as aiding Indian students, supplying information to Indian communities, and presenting Indian concerns to non-Indian communities. One defined herself partly as a role model of a competent Indian woman. One indicated that she represented the Indian community to non-Indians by being the only Indian woman many people knew. Two saw a primary function in offering service to Indian communities (one of these works in a community-based child service center). All but one saw themselves relating to Indian students in one way or another.

The personal interviews were conducted with women who are students in various graduate programs at the University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University, and Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington. One student is studying public health, two are majoring in education, one is in anthropology, another is just entering a graduate program in anthropology, and one is a 2d-year law student. One is a candidate for a master's degree and four are candidates for doctorates. An interesting similarity in their backgrounds is that all except two went to Catholic or Protestant grade or high schools. The two exceptions went to public school, one in a small town in Oklahoma and one in Idaho. The one from Idaho also attended a BIA high school in Santa Fe, New Mexico. All but two had encouragement from their families to go to college, although in only one case were the parents college educated. One had no real encouragement from her family and had very little contact with her parents from the age of 14. The other said her family was basically indifferent to her going to college, although her mother seemed to express some resentment toward her education. This woman decided to enter college only after leaving home and being on her own for several years. She said that in her family women had received less encouragement than men to go to college, mainly because women were more pressured to marry and have children. All these women have either worked in Indian-related programs or intend to pursue careers "related to Indian communities."

One interesting fact commented on by two of the women was that they felt they received more encouragement than their male relatives to go to college because they made better grades in high school than their male relatives, and parents encouraged their children more on the basis of grades than of sex. One American Indian woman has five brothers and sisters, and two of her brothers finished college, but with some difficulty. One who has 11 brothers and sisters said that 2 of her brothers had attempted college, but did not finish. It would seem from this limited amount of information that Indian parents seem to encourage their children to go to college if they feel the children can succeed, and one major indicator of success is grades.

Two of the women felt that they had been discriminated against in their college careers primarily because of their ethnic background. One said that the State from which she came was very racist, and the university that she attended for her undergraduate degree had graduated only one or two other Indian students. The two who felt discrimination on the basis of ethnicity also said that they had experienced some sex discrimination. Four women felt that they had experienced more sex discrimination and had not experienced racial discrimination. Two of these indicated that they felt that their Indianness had, in fact, at times been an asset. Two decided to seek higher degrees because they had worked in the field of education and were dissatisfied with the quality of education being offered to Indian students. Two were interested in the study of Indian cultures and so decided to enter the field of anthropology, in which they felt an advanced degree was necessary for their career objectives. One had worked with an Indian alcoholism program and left to get a master's degree in public health to further her career. The law student said that from the time she entered college she wanted to go to law school, and her primary motivation for that decision was hearing her father and his friends talking about the need for legal representation for Indian communities. Although three of the women have children, only one is presently married.

One question that was asked on the faculty questionnaire and in interviews was whether the women had ever been castigated by an Indian man for being an educated woman. This question was in some ways equivalent to the question on the student questionnaire, "Have you ever been told that it is not the Indian way for a woman to get a college degree?" It elicited the most emotional response of any of the questions asked in the interviews. The emotion generally seemed to be a combination of irony, amusement, and exasperation. Sometimes this kind of a "put-down" is based upon the woman's unacceptability for marriage once she is educated. In some cases, it seems to be based on a sense of economic competition. In the faculty questionnaires, two women reported that they had not experienced such comments from Indian men.

The comments that women made about the experience are interesting. One woman said that she had been castigated "only by a few educated Indian men and one 'activist.'" One women commented that professional Indian women seemed to have difficulty with each other in terms of appropriate roles when Indian males were present. One said, "Yes, socially--sometimes teasing." The general trend of comments would indicate that women would be more likely to be admonished in the presence of Indian men in organization meetings and outside the context of their own communities, although one woman reported the "put-down" coming from her father and from uneducated Indian men who considered her somewhat strange. The fact that the educated Indian women questioned have, with three exceptions (one student interviewed reported that she had not had such an experience), experienced some sort of critical abuse may indicate both a certain sense of male chauvinism unrelated to Indian culture and a certain persistence of the sense that a woman's place is in the home--a value which could be associated with traditional Indian norms. It may also indicate a certain sense of economic competition wherein Indian men feel that Indian women are taking jobs that they themselves should be getting. In some ways, the "put-down" may also be becoming a part of the male/female interaction patterns that traditionally have been defined in Indian cultures. The teasing or joking relationships that still exist in Indian community life as a part of socialization processes are being extended to include new situations. The educated Indian woman, anomaly though she may seem, is still interacting in an Indian community, although it is often a community of other professional Indians communicating on a national level through meetings or conferences. The criticism is sometimes part of a traditional teasing, an expected behavior pattern. This is not to deny that it is also sometimes quite serious. Whatever its source, the "put-down" seems to be a common experience of American Indian women in higher education and a social pressure they must face.

If the American Indian faculty and professional women questioned and the women currently in graduate school who were interviewed are highly unusual in their accomplishments in relation to most American Indian women, they are also strongly committed both to their sense of American Indian identity, and to playing an active role in assisting other Indian women (and Indian students generally) to complete college. They are also strongly committed to playing some role that will benefit American Indian communities in the country today.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Several recommendations for research can be made as a result of this preliminary descriptive study. Research is needed dealing specifically with the question of aspiration to college of male and female American Indian high school students. Studies should be done in high schools to determine how male and female American Indian students perceive their ability to go on to college and also to find out whether teachers and counselors have different perceptions of the abilities of male and female students to succeed in college. A very important study should be made of parents' aspirations for their male and female children and whether those aspirations are more strongly influenced by cultural or economic factors.

Parental support and encouragement seem to be important factors in motivating Indian students to complete high school and go to college. Questions of motivation need to be explored more fully. With regard to whether women have received more, equal, or less support and encouragement than their male relatives, the women interviewed indicated that support seemed to depend more on grades in high school as an indication of future success in college. In general, the women tended to do better than their male relatives in high school and thus were considered to be more likely candidates for a college education than males. Only one woman indicated that there was a feeling in her family that immediate entry into the job market after high school was a pressure on males, while education was considered more appropriate for females. The women interviewed seemed to have achieved more advanced degrees and have been more successful in completing their undergraduate degrees than their male relatives. Further research might reveal some differences in parental attitudes toward male and female students as factors in the selection of college education.

Studies of acculturation in Indian tribes seem to indicate that women are less acculturated than men and have a more conservative attitude toward cultural change than men.[40] Therefore, the values and attitudes that are displayed by women involved in higher education should be different from those of men. However, at least one research study contradicts this conclusion. Ryan's study of American Indian students at the University of South Dakota indicates no significant differences between male and female American Indian students on the basis of data gathered on a personality inventory form administered to 65 undergraduate and graduate students.[41] On the other hand, Ryan found significant differences between Native American and non-Native American female students on 9 of the 22 traits measured by the inventory.[42] It is not within the scope of this study to discuss the differences among American Indian male and female college students in terms of personality traits that might contribute to success or failure in college. This area might be an interesting one to explore. A study of the role of marriage in the life patterns of male and female American Indian students probably would be very valuable.

Given the limitations on both time and on the availability of information, the present study can only represent a preliminary investigation of the status of American Indian women in higher education. It is hoped that more time and money will be available later and that the important fields of female American Indian students' motivations and perceptions can be studied.

CONCLUSION

American Indian women constitute a significant pool of resources for the future development of strength and stability in American Indian communities. Their roles in their own homes and families are part of their traditional contributions to the maintenance of their communities. As college students and college graduates, many American Indian women are playing important roles in education, in community service organizations, and in national organizations where they represent the concerns of their people to non-Indians. They are advocates for, and participants in, Indian community life at various levels. But their numbers are very small, and there are still many barriers to the participation of American Indian students in higher education. One Indian woman phrased the problem succinctly, and her statement certainly has relevance to this study. She said:

> Since 1969 among the Pueblos of New Mexico which number approximately 30,000 people about 250 Indian people have graduated from college. Of this 250 persons, 110 are women. That is less than one percent of the people and far less than one-half of one percent of the people who are women. This speaks directly to absence of opportunity because the coping skills of Indian people belie any accusations of lack of intelligence. What this means is that Indian people are being denied the opportunity to integrate the formal educational processes into tribal organization and structure.[43]

Although the subject of this paper has been the status of American Indian women in higher education, the emphasis in research and development of programs must be on the availability of opportunity for all American Indian students who want to pursue a college education. The skills of college-educated men and women are needed in Indian communities--in health, education, social service programs, resource management and development, and in all those areas on which the future economic development and social stability of Indian communities depend. The results of this study tend to indicate that Indian women do not have problems significantly different from Indian men in obtaining a college degree. In some limited instances, being an Indian woman may even be an advantage.

The greatest pressures on Indian women may be those associated with traditional Indian values toward home and family, since the role of wife and mother is difficult to combine with that of full-time college student or full-time professional. But some women are combining those roles successfully and, hopefully, more will do so in the future. The Indian woman in higher education has a commitment to her family, her community, and to herself to develop her own potential skills and talents fully so that she can participate effectively in her community, whether it be as a student in a university setting, among members of the community, or as one of a group of Indian professionals working in government or professional organizations. The need for that commitment is not unique to women, but specifically applies to all Indian people. The roles of men and women in traditional Indian cultures are complementary--each sex performs valuable functions for the continuation of the society as a whole--and the society values the contributions of its members who perform their functions with skill. It is hoped that the complementary nature of male and female roles will continue to be recognized in contemporary Indian societies, and that men and women will work together in the future as they have in the past.

NOTES

[1] Joseph G. Gilfillan, "The Ojibwe in Minnesota," Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society 9 (St. Paul, Minnesota: Published by the Society, 1901), p. 58.

[2] Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," The Massachusetts Review 16 (1975), 698; Shirley Hill Witt, "Native Women Today, Sexism and the Indian Woman," Civil Rights Digest 6, No. 3 (Spring 1974), p. 29.

[3] Dorothy Clarke Wilson, Bright Eyes: The Story of Susette La Flesche, An Omaha Indian (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), pp. 116-120, 151.

[4] Sara Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Paiutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, Edited by Mrs. Horace Mann. (Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co., New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1883), p. 264.

[5] Wilson, pp. 315, 329.

[6] Sar A. Levitan and William B. Johnston, Indian Giving, Federal Programs for Native Americans (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 54-55.

[7] United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Special Concerns, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Vol. III: American Indians (HEW Publication No. (OS) 75-122, July 1974), p. 58. Hereafter cited as Office of Special Concerns.

[8] Ibid., p. 59.

[9] United States Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Subject Reports, Final Report PC920-1F, American Indians (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 5.

[10] Ibid.

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[11] Office of Special Concerns, p. 40.

[12] United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Indian Education Programs, Fiscal Year 1974 Statistics Concerning Indian Education (Lawrence, Kansas: Haskell Indian Junior College, Publications Service, 1974), p. 36.

[13] United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Higher Education Evaluation: Student Characteristics and Opinions, Research and Evaluation Report Series No. 20-A (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Indian Education Resources Center, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973), pp. 9, 82. Hereafter cited as Higher Education Evaluation.

[14] United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "Enrollment Statistics in Institutions of Higher Education" (Data Management Center, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1976). See summary of data in Appendix 5.

[15] United States Bureau of the Census, Table 5, p. 18.

[16] Charles S. Owens and Willard P. Bass, The American Indian High School Dropout in the Southwest (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Inc., 1969; Research and Evaluation Report Series No. 42-02, reprinted 1976 by Office of Indian Education Programs, Indian Education Resources Center, Albuquerque, New Mexico), p. 7.

[17] Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkings, Education-Related Preferences and Characteristics of College-Aspiring Urban Indian Teen-agers: A Preliminary Report (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota, Training Center for Community Programs, 1969), p. 4.

[18] Wayne L. Larson, A Comparison of the Differential Effect of Ethnicity and Perception of Family Income on Educational Aspiration, Preparation and Parental Influence--Attempts of Indian and Non-Indian Students in Four Rural High Schools in Montana, Report No. AES-Bull-659; (Bozeman: Montana State University, Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, October, 1971), p. 11.

[19] United States Senate, Committee of Labor and Public Welfare, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 83.

[20] Office of Special Concerns, p. 45.

[21] United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Newsletter in Higher Education (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Division of Public School Relations, January 1970), p. 2.

[22] Higher Education Evaluation, pp. 3, 10.

[23] Ibid., pp. 3, 7, 16-17.

[24] Ibid., p. 30.

[25] Information obtained from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Evaluation, Research and Development, Albuquerque, New Mexico, courtesy of Mr. LeRoy Falling.

[26] William Charles Hauck, "A Study of American Indian Graduates of Black Hills State College" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Dakota, 1971), p. 36.

[27] Woods and Harkins, p. 13.

[28] Ina Abrahams, "Vocational Interest of Selected Indian College Students as Measured by the Kuder Preference Record," Journal of American Indian Education 2, No. 1 (October 1962), p. 21.

[29] "Higher Education of Southwestern Indians with Reference to Success and Failure," Journal of American Indian Education 4, No. 2 (January 1965), p. 10.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Walter Patton and Everett D. Edington, "Factors Related to the Persistence of Indian Students at College Level," Journal of American Indian Education 12, No. 3 (May 1973), p. 20.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Information obtained from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Evaluation, Research and Development, Albuquerque, New Mexico, courtesy of Mr. LeRoy Falling.

[34] Robert Norris, "The Effects of Selected Cultural Variables Influencing the College Performances of Native American Indians" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1971), pp. 45, 87-88.

[35] Estelle Fuchs and Robert Havighurst, To Live on This Earth (New York: Doubleday, 1972), p. 261.

[36] Patricia Locke, A Survey of College and University Programs for American Indians (Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1974).

[37] Glen Arthur Just, "American Indian Attitudes Toward Education in Select Areas of South Dakota" (Unpublished master's thesis, South Dakota State University, Brookings, South Dakota, 1970), p. 63.

[38] Rayna Green, "The Barriers Obstructing the Entry of Native Americans into the Natural Sciences" (Unpublished report prepared for the Project on

Native Americans in Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C., October 1976), p. 22.

[39] *Ibid*., p. 7.

[40] See, for example, Louis S. Spindler, "Menominee Women and Culture Change," *American Anthropological Association Memoir 91* (Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association, 1962), p. 45.

[41] Robert Anthony Ryan, "An Investigation of Personality Traits of Native American College Students at the University of South Dakota" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Dakota, 1973), pp. 81-82.

[42] *Ibid*., p. 83.

[43] Evelyn Lance Blanchard, "Organizing and American Indian Women," Paper presented at the Working Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Native American Women, sponsored by the Women's Research Program, National Institute of Education, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 12, 1976. The information on Pueblo college graduates is from the all-Indian Pueblo Council, 1000 Indian School Road, N.W., Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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ORGANIZING AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

Evelyn Lance Blanchard

This paper is dedicated to my parents and to Patricia Locke (Sioux-Chippewa) and Goldie Denney (Cowlitz-Yakima), whose wisdom and understanding were of special help to me.

Some of the most important and profound organizational efforts in recent history have been accomplished by American Indian women. These efforts reflect an adherence to, and a respect for, a vibrant philosophy unique in the United States.

The foundation for these determined efforts rests in the historical and traditional heritage of tribal life as it was originally taught and as it is lived today. American Indian women receive their strength and identification from the richness of this heritage.

HISTORICAL-TRADITIONAL FOUNDATION

Indian people have ancient beginnings described in traditional lore. In some of these stories only a few people, animals, and other living things participated. As these beings moved through time and space, they learned through their travels and experiences of the character of the people they would become. These travels and experiences were learned, and the people acquired essential knowledge about their roles and values.

It seems important that the early beginnings of Indian people were among sparse populations where human relationships and interactions were simple and important lessons about the physical and social environment were more easily learned. Later, as their environment became denser, the people learned further lessons about all aspects of living, such as preservation of community life and sharing life with animals as well as people.

A shared world must be an orderly world. The interdependence of man becomes so strong that division of labor and responsibility is essential. Therefore, there was a division of labor and responsibility from the beginning. The performance of certain tasks by specific groups was essential to the continuation of life. Thus group functions became extremely specialized, and these specialized life-preserving functions were passed on from one generation to the next.

Maintaining interdependence was the foundation of Indian life and Indian traditions. Perhaps all people began this way, but for reasons important to their lives, Indian people maintain this philosophy to the

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present day. In this sense, tradition and culture are not memories of how it was, but how it should be and, for many, how it is today.

From these traditions and through their particular sex and group membership individuals within the tribe derived the accepted behaviors of the specific tribal community. Each group and its members were responsible for specific secular and religious tasks, and in this way, a person grew into what the individual would become in relation to the life of the tribal community.

Role and responsibility were clear, and every opportunity was given to man or woman to learn them well. The accomplishment of certain tasks was necessary, and individual expression developed out of a learned sensitivity to a unique role. The individual developed an exquisite sense of his or her part in the order of the world, and thereby gained a degree of self-esteem.

Few societies have allowed the unique individual expression available to Indian people. In American mainstream society uniqueness may be a novel behavior or a departure from the norm; in Indian culture, uniqueness becomes the refinement of life.

Perhaps the best way to describe this is to look at Indian art forms in which space and style are narrowly delimited. Within these limitations, the artist must find room for his individual expression. For example, in the art of the Northwest Coastal Indians, the outlines of the whale and the raven are fixed, and differing artistic expressions are made within the confines of those outlines.

Art, in this sense, becomes a visual expression of the individual Indian's understanding of the social context. One accepts the dictates of the tribal group because the expected behavior has a life-preserving function. An Indian artist does not recreate the tribal world in the traditional sense of artistic freedom. Social order is maintained.

Individuality, then, expresses itself as a refinement of the human experience and reflects the necessity to adhere to a philosophical base which provides understanding of the world and of man's relationship to it.

Tribal groups exerted social pressures through traditional lore to induce conformity, which gave their members a sense of security and sureness experienced by few of the world's peoples. These pressures, born of early lessons, stimulated the development of a high level of sensitivity, allowing tribal people to be acutely aware of balance and imbalance in the natural order of things. The disorder or imbalance might be caused by disruptions in human relationships, natural disasters, or undesirable influences from within or outside the tribe. Experiences with the imbalances of life (threats or danger) allowed people to understand better life's natural order and the individual's relationship to it.

To maintain this kind of society, bonds must be extensive and must reach beyond blood relationships. The education and training of children was in a very real sense the responsibility of the total community. The importance placed on societal relationships necessitated interdependence. Interdependence and responsibility became so important in Indian culture that they remain a strong influence on the Indian woman's life.

There have been many pressures on Indian communities in the past several hundred years. Since the coming of the Europeans and their conquests, whole tribes of Indian people have been destroyed. Only a few hundred Indian tribes remain today, and not all survived in sufficient numbers to maintain the balance of interrelationships that previously sustained them. Yet, there is a tenacity to the tribal structure that holds Indians strongly to their tribal identification.

In these societies, Indian women's roles are defined clearly. Responsibility for the maintenance of life is sustained by women whose duties go far beyond bearing children. Without women, the life of the tribal community cannot go on. Nor is it possible for women from outside the tribe to enter the group and assume the place of these women.

The order, place, and responsibility of all individuals were so important that a system of "clans" developed to solidify the structure. In certain tribes, each person belonged to various clans with specific responsibilities. Within a community, some clans were more important than others, although all were necessary. The importance and the functions of these clans gave great esteem and integrity to their members.

In such a societal structure, women's responsibilities were as vital as men's, even though the nature of their tasks may have been different. Men were responsible for such activities as hunting and farming; women maintained the home. Within this context, male and female functions each had their own importance; they were equal and inseparable ingredients of tribal life. Even in the structure of the deity, Mother Earth and Father Sun were of equal importance. They were viewed as having different responsibilities and characteristics, but both were essential.

CURRENT ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS OF INDIAN WOMEN

The organization of Indian women differs from the organization of women of other groups. It is interesting that Indian women are not visible in the forefront of women's liberation movements, perhaps because they already hold some of the most important positions in their society. There are at least 25 tribal chairwomen in our country today, and there are many Indian women serving as councilwomen who have equal decisionmaking status with men. The importance of their knowledge and strength is acknowledged not only by the men, but also by the Indian society.

Indian women have a role in society that has been defined historically as more important than similar positions occupied by non-Indian women.

Tribal identification for Indian women enhances this definition and solidifies it. Indian women certainly have not experienced exploitation as chattels at the hands of Indian men. Despite the many outside pressures on tribal societies and the disruptions these conflicts have caused, Indian women remain steadfast in their responsibility to their tribal community.

The Menominee Tribe

One of the most important and perhaps most publicized organizational efforts in which Indian women played a major role was the restoration of the Menominee Tribe to trust status.

After loss of tribal structure and special Federal Government status, it was evident that the Menominee tribal members were being reduced to deprived persons approaching poverty. However, they had preserved their tribal entity in spite of threats of termination.

It is significant that a major impetus for restoration came from Menominee tribal members who had personal experience with separation from their tribal home and the consequences of termination in areas removed from their homeland--places where tribal people are highly vulnerable. Because of their experiences, these people were acutely aware of the dangers involved, such as the loss of identity as a tribal person, a devastating consequence of termination because it severed the relationship between the people and their Earth Mother.

The traditional role of Indian women provided the natural setting for their activity. Women who had great family responsibility and those with little or no obligation to the family joined together in a determined educational effort. They worked to create acute awareness of the dangers of termination among tribal members. Small discussion and study groups were held in homes, and larger informational meetings were sponsored throughout their country to educate and stimulate all the people. Much of this work was done by women because they were not employed, and they had or made the time.

Restoration was a group effort, not the work of isolated individuals. Although women were in the forefront, the effort could have succeeded without the men. Furthermore, in keeping with the traditional behavior of Indian women, children were taught the issues and participated along with their parents in the work that had to be done, which provided an opportunity to reactivate the traditional tribal educational process. The interdependence of relationships again took on its proper form.

Many women participated and gained prominence. Ada Deer's activities are the best known. Other women not often heard about are Agnes Dick, Sylvia Wilber, Jeanine Keshena, Shirley Daly, and Joan Harte. Many of these women and others not named had little previous experience in public affairs. Among them were greatgrandmothers who had protested the original land sale and cherished the opportunity to work and preserve their tribal home for future Menominee children. These women took their rightful place as the strong, feminine models that tribes have always had.

The Menominee nation, in danger of extermination, was restored to its sovereign status largely through the efforts of Indian women. The political ramifications of this effort gave hope to other tribes in similar circumstances. More significant, the actions of the Menominee people reaffirmed the value system which makes tribes unique and restored the commitment to tribal life among other tribal peoples.

The Stillaguamish Tribe

Esther Ross, ordained Chief of the Stillaguamish Tribe, will never receive adequate recognition outside the family of tribes. During her adolescent years, she was given the responsibility of restoring her tribe to its rightful status. Now an elderly woman, she has spent over half a century meeting this responsibility.

She comes from a small, once wealthy tribe that has had prolonged contact with non-Indians. The bounty of her original land base, in Washington State, whetted the appetites of those who did not hold her tribal home in sacred esteem and reduced it to a few acres. The sanctity of the tribal cemetery was disregarded, and Chief Ross witnessed the bulldozing of ancestral graves to make way for non-Indian transportation systems.

Restoration to trust status is an arduous task. Chief Ross traveled to Washington, D.C., numerous times on personal funds. Her faith that she would accomplish her assigned task supported her sense of responsibility and commitment. Her persistance gained her the necessary support to restore her tribe to national status.

Chief Ross' organizing efforts are exceptional, and few people in the world have succeeded as she has. Yet it is clear as she recounts her experiences that what she did was not just for Esther Ross or the Stillaguamish people, but for all tribal peoples. Her efforts reaffirmed the necessity for the continuation of Indian tribes and the special significance that they contribute to the world. She remains a model for the sensitivity and dedication essential to the organizational efforts of Indian women.

Alaska Native Sisterhood

Some Indian women's organizations, such as the Alaska Native Sisterhood, do not push for national acclaim. This organization, among the oldest of its type, was a major force in securing the right to vote for all Indians.

The Alaska Native Sisterhood worked continually with the Alaska Native Brotherhood to secure the rights and privileges of tribal peoples, maintaining strong and continuing support in tribal affairs. The importance of these kinds of organizational efforts by Indian women cannot be overemphasized. They provide the guidance necessary to the organizing efforts of younger Indian women throughout the country.

Americans for Indian Opportunity

Much has been learned from organizational efforts like those directed by LaDonna Harris, a Comanche and director of Americans for Indian Opportunity (AIO). Mrs. Harris' efforts provide a unique example of advocacy on behalf of all Indian people.

Americans for Indian Opportunity was born out of Mrs. Harris' previous organizational experience in her home State with Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity. There she was successful in pulling together Indian and non-Indian interests to support the maintenance and development of tribal integrity through the preservation of natural resources.

Her first attempts at these same advocacy efforts in Washington, D.C., reduced her to tears but reaffirmed her dedication. Wisely, she sought and has maintained private financial support for her ventures. Her experience has made clear the need to keep in the forefront the Federal Government's responsibility to the tribal communities.

Attempts to develop the natural resources of various tribes taught Mrs. Hunt that there is no parallel in this country for tribal development. Few persons in any of the branches of Government are sensitive to the concept of tribal life. Tribes find their situation more closely matched with those of developing nations throughout the world. Recent meetings of tribes and developing nations have yielded new ideas and methods of problem solving which can be and have been incorporated into the tribal experience.

Of major assistance to tribes has been AIO's ability to bring together national corporate structures that provide resources which might not be otherwise affordable. In addition, AIO participates in a watchdog effort to reduce exploitation of tribes.

Mrs. Harris has been able to transfer the traditional expertise of organization to contemporary Indian affairs. Although her activity is not within the context of specific tribal representation in every instance, her behavior reinforces tribal solidarity and reflects the important role of women in that effort.

The North American Indian Women's Association

The North American Indian Women's Association (NAIWA) was founded only a few years ago and already has gained a reputation as an esteemed organization. Through the leadership of Indian women such as Mary Jane Fate, NAIWA commands a demanding position in the creation of awareness and understanding of tribal concerns.

Organizations like NAIWA can easily encounter criticism because the membership network is loose and broad. The leadership is acutely aware of this situation and, as a matter of procedure, communicates with recognized national Indian organizations on all matters of importance. The advice and support of the tribal chairmen and tribal chairwomen are requested on issues that will have an impact on all the tribes. State and local chapters are encouraged to seek advice and counsel from their tribal leaders who frequently have requested support from NAIWA on issues of national concern and often ask that the support be given in the form of an NAIWA resolution.

The purposes of NAIWA are extremely broad to allow participation and interest from a wide base of Indian women. They are:

1. Betterment of the home, family life, and community.
2. Betterment of health and education.
3. Betterment of intertribal communication.
4. Better awareness of Indian culture.
5. Fellowship among all people.

These purposes make it possible for Indian women from all tribes and careers to find a mutual area of interest and concern.

Mrs. Fate believes that NAIWA's impact on Indian affairs is as great as the League of Women Voters' influence on its constituency. In spite of lack of funds and the scarcity of staff members, Mrs. Fate believes the organization is fulfilling its purpose.

The senior women of NAIWA encourage younger women to earn the credentials of formal education and the respect of their tribal leadership. Again, the traditional role of Indian women is sensitively placed in an intertribal organizing position.

The Lakota Tuberculosis and Health Association

Among the strongest of organizations founded by Indian women is the Lakota Tuberculosis and Health Association. The original founders are Eunice Larrabee, Alfreda Janis Bergen, and the late Phoebe Downing. These are women who, apart from any organizational effort, are held in high esteem among American Indians.

During the 1950's, many children in the Plains country were dying of tuberculosis. They were not receiving treatment because there was reportedly no room in the hospitals and because the Indian service physicians refused to admit them. A small group of women began traveling around the reservations, locating children ill with tuberculosis and taking them to the homes of the physicians. These women forced the health service to respond to the medical needs of the people, and their activities formed the basis of organization for the association.

Today, the association addresses a broad range of health needs and concerns of Indian people. Their strength, determination, and tenacity place them in a very high position among the tribes. Although founded by women, the leadership has been shared by both sexes through the years.

The United Indian Women's Club of California

The United Indian Women's Club of California (UIWCC) has its counterpart in many areas of the country. Its membership is composed of Indian women from many different tribes who find themselves separated from their tribal homelands.

Many of the women in this organization had been members of non-Indian women's groups. However, Indian women found they had little voice in those groups, whose efforts seldom were directed toward the Indian community. Some Indian women withdrew from active participation and formed their own organization. Sue Robinson, president of United Indian Women's Club of California, believes that this decision provided the base for a strong organizational move by Californian Indian women.

Smaller and separate Indian women's organizations joined together to build a broader base of strength. Various emphases bonded toward a common good. For example, a small educational scholarship program, which attempted to give a few students only $100, was expanded to help more students with greater amounts. The UIWCC is in the Federation of California Women's Clubs and supports general service functions in California. It is extremely active in local tribal issues. These women have demonstrated that only through organizational efforts can Indians make an impact on those issues of vital concern to Indian people in their community and State.

Each of the previous descriptions demonstrates characteristic organizational activities. These women engaged in educational efforts as a means to strengthen tribal structure. The process has proved to be appropriate and successful, thereby serving as models for research efforts.

INDIAN EXPERIENCE WITH WESTERN EDUCATION

Many authors have written about Indian experience with Western education, and they all conclude that this educational model has not served Indians well. Today, Indians are the most poorly educated people in the United States. The quality of education is the poorest, and the atmosphere in which it is provided is so pregnant with discrimination that hundreds of students discontinue their schooling.

Educational institutions convey and support the value systems of the societies they represent. The Western educational system does not reflect the values of the Indians, nor is there any attempt to do so. The goals of the Western system require that the Indian person accept the status of a conquered people and conform to a second-class status in a world where tribal labor and natural resources can be exploited systematically. It demands that the individual examine and even refute those tribal values that give definition to his or her world.

Historical-traditional Indian education allowed and encouraged students to learn about their world to the fullest extent. The experience was a very tangible one. It included contacts with people who advised, scolded, urged, praised, warned, but, most important, respected the student. The lessons made sense because they were directly related to the life of the tribal community and the individual's place in it.

Indian students are expected to learn: as a member of a tribe, each individual has certain vital responsibilities which if disregarded could cause hardship to the individual or to other members of the tribe. As children grew, they learned that the most highly valued people were the most responsible and that those individuals acquired their status through adherence to a tribal structure that allowed individuals freedom to develop themselves and to reach a full sense of being in concert with the fulfillment of community needs. In this sense, the needs of the individual and the community were the same.

Western educational programs pulled Indian children from their community and forced them into an environment that denied the integrity of the tribal community. The pervasiveness and intensity of these experiences created a confusion whose impact was to be felt for many generations to come.

In this new non-Indian environment, community was compartmentalized. Life and its activities did not flow into one another; there were junctures wherein the person was required to make new definitions of self in relation to the world. Novelty and change were encouraged and often enforced. There was disregard of the old or usual as "inappropriate" or "not worthwhile." There was no longer a way of life, but ways of life which were not necessarily connected. A person who went in so many different ways would experience extreme difficulty in reaching the sense of community relatedness that was essential to Indian life.

The new environment did not offer a support system of strong, sensitive elders as role models. The child was forced to rely for support on other children whose tribal educations had been disrupted in the same manner, and their tribal education was insufficient to allow them to teach each other. Yet, those beginning precepts of tribal life, which the child had learned earlier, remained as much a part of the child as did the first suckling taste of life at the mother's breast.

It is not known which values in Western society can be translated into behaviors supported by the tribal structure. The mercantilism, individualism, and acquisitiveness taught in Western society have no counterparts in the tribes. Ways to teach these as skills to Indian people must be found. This would lessen the chances to undermine the tribal value system, which, when such disintegration occurs, is difficult to repair. The numbers of Indian people who have no strong foothold anywhere attest to this.

In recent years, with emphasis on early childhood education programs in tribal communities, attempts have been made to intervene earlier in the educational process. Many communities see this as an opportunity to include traditional teachers and other community people in the education of their children.

Unfortunately, the guidelines and philosophies from these programs do not allow the communities freedom to address the true educational needs of their children. The preponderance of compensatory programs concentrating on the "handicapped" has a deleterious effect; for many tribal communities "handicap" denotes "difference." That interpretation has caused serious program development problems in Indian communities. The approach must be redirected to include, as its most important feature, the tribal view of the child--the view of a child as an individual.

Professor Dorothy Lee makes an appropriate observation:

> First, I shall return to the advice to recognize difference, and relate it to the implicit suggestion to see the child as a member of a category. There was a time when mothers reading the work of people such as Gesell were worried to find that their four-month-old did not behave like Gesell's four-month-old. Now they are told not to worry, that each four-month-old proceeds at his own pace--within limits, of course. But they are still subtly encouraged to see him as a member of a category--not as this child, my Sue, but as a four-month-old; what they are told is not to worry if she deviates from the norm of the category. I consider this so destructive that I find it hard to forgive; and yes, I can speak to this personally because it is my world, my people, who are being destroyed. I think that the new advice is no improvement over the old; and in addition it gives mothers the phony feeling that they recognize the uniqueness of the child.
>
> To view in terms of category, whether as legitimately deviating from the norm or not, is a meager and a lazy substitute for knowing.
>
> Take me, for instance--I am different than all of you. I have white hair, I have a Greek accent--I came to this country from Greece--I am an anthropologist. So, when you have listed all of this, do you really know me? It is easy for you to list all the things that make me different, it is easy to categorize me professionally--but do you know me? And yet in our society quite often we fool ourselves by thinking that if we recognize differences, then we know.
>
> Classification on the basis of difference is not even a category--it is a noncategory based on what is outside the being, the inner being, of the person. If a mother is going to help her child to be, she has to recognize what the child is, not what the child is not. What the child is not may, of course, come to be

> seen incidentally, though I think there are many societies in which what a child *is not* is a matter of complete indifference. The important thing is to recognize what the child *is*.[1]

Very few Indian community programs concentrate on their gifted members. The cultivation of the strengths of our most gifted and intelligent people is not being enhanced and is even being denied.

Directors of tribal community-based or home-based early childhood programs express considerable concern regarding the nature of involvement of parents. Parents participate in the development of curriculum materials and other activities that more closely reflect their lifestyle, but there appears to be a lack of sustained involvement. Only parents with greater experience in the formal educational process seem to be participating frequently, and there is serious concern that the knowledge and expertise of many parents is not being utilized adequately.

Many parents are reluctant to become involved and to express their views. Some program directors believe that this reticence is not a result of tribal custom but a reflection of the feeling that parental contributions will not be viewed as worthwhile. These people require constant support and encouragement to maintain even minimal levels of involvement.

It is too simple to interpret such parental behavior as psychological dysfunction. Parents would then be referred to mental health services where the causes for lack of involvement would be found in individual characteristics. What would eventuate, as too often has been the case, is that the person would secure a label that would give him or her permission to continue the noninvolvement. However, important factors contributing to that noninvolvement would be overlooked.

IMPROVING THE AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD'S EDUCATION

It is wasteful to neglect the information at hand regarding the historical educational experiences of Indian people. Only within the last 10 years have Indian parents been able to participate as board members at their children's schools, including not only public community institutions, but the Federal boarding schools and day schools as well. School boards usually conduct their business in a parliamentary manner foreign to the governance of Indian people. There is not yet a historical experience in school board participation of sufficient length to make involvement understandable and inviting to the majority of Indian parents.

Most of today's Indian parents attended school at a time when their parents were not allowed to become involved in the educational system. Frequently, parents communicated with the schools only after their children had broken certain rules repeatedly. Only a few years ago, communicating the children's successes to parents was considered novel.[2]

Indian parents must be given an opportunity to examine their historical educational systems and to compare them with Western systems. The traumatic effects of separation and placement, which these parents experienced as students, have not been addressed, and the impact of these experiences on the student and his or her family has been disregarded.

Parents of today's Indian students must examine feelings of confusion, defenselessness, and fear from the vantage point of their own traumatic educational experience. Scholars have been studying the learning and behavior problems of young Indian children and developing new or modified programs to address identified needs. However, the influences of the home and community have not been examined and, in fact, seldom have been mentioned. In the few instances where those influences were studied Indian culture has been considered similar to the "culture of poverty." Equating Indian people with the poor simplifies the problems for the program designers: it becomes an easy matter to apply a previously designed poverty program to a tribal community.

Research into issues of parental involvement must be practical. Numerous community-based programs throughout the country could provide sufficient populations for studies of this type. Although there is a conscious awareness of problems of noninvolvement, tribal communities have not been given sufficient assistance to examine these matters appropriately.

Without attention to the behaviors of parents, true community participation in the design of educational programs cannot become reality for Indian people. This kind of examination could produce a clarification of parental views of their own educational experience and how those ideas do or do not enhance their children's education.

Thousands of Indian children still attend Federal boarding schools. Ways must be examined to allow these children to learn the components of family life, since the separation occurs when their tribal education would have been the most intense. Although efforts toward affective learning in these schools is laudable, for many of these students the efforts are inappropriate. The educational system assumes the presence of important role models where none may exist. One cannot learn affective communication without a viable model. It is unfair to expect these students to be affective communicators as parents if, as children, they had only other children with whom to communicate. A circle of "relatedness" must be developed for these children.

The boarding schools have been with us for a long time, and discussions of boarding school situations have become passé. Yet 28,764 Indian children yearly are exposed to the same conditions that were so alarming a few years ago. Immediate and concerned attention needs to be given to the most important personnel in these institutions, the dormitory aides. These are the people who have the most contact with the students and who encounter the students at their moments of greatest stress.

A recent article by Blanchard and Warren examines the role stress of dormitory aides and its implication for the treatment of students:

> One measure of personality types from which data on dormitory personnel at this school are available is the Myer-Briggs Type Indicator (Myers 1972), a forced choice, self-report inventory providing information on personality which can be related to a number of variables. Data analysis is based on the following code which may be viewed as polarities on continua:

1.	I - Introvert tendency	E - Extrovert tendency
2.	N - Intuitive tendency	S - Sensing tendency
3.	F - Feeling tendency	T - Thinking tendency
4.	P - Perceiving tendency	J - Judging tendency[3]

On the Myer-Briggs Type Indicator, an overwhelming majority (90 percent) of dormitory personnel in the institution examined were characterized as a combination of sensing, thinking, and judging types. The potential behavioral manifestations of these types in employment include the following:

> 1. Sensing types dislike problems unless there are standard ways to solve them, are patient with routine details, enjoy using skills already acquired, work steadily and are impatient when there are too many complicated details to remember.
>
> 2. Thinking types are not very interested in people's feelings, are relatively unemotional, may hurt people's feelings without knowing it, like analysis, enjoy putting things into logical order, make decisions impersonally, sometimes ignore people's wishes and are able to reprimand people or fire them when necessary.
>
> 3. Judging types like to plan their work and be able to finish on schedule, like to get things settled and wrapped up, may decide things too quickly, may not like to interrupt one project for a more urgent one, and may not notice new things which need to be done.
>
> These type characteristics reveal that the dormitory staff are thinking-program centered, rather than people-need centered. They are more interested in institutional efficiency and the maintenance of orderliness than they are in students, their problems and needs. They are comfortable in their routine and become upset whenever their lives are complicated by the unusual and the demands of others.
>
> If these types were counterbalanced with large percentages of other types, the situation would not be so bad. However, with the overwhelming percentage being sensing, thinking, judging

types and being heavily involved in child-contact work, the results must be catastrophic to staff member and student alike. That is, no one is likely to get their needs satisfied. Stress appears inevitable.[4]

It is important to remember that these staff members were themselves students in similar institutions and experienced severe disruptions in their lifestyles. Effective educational programs must be developed for these students, and personnel with the appropriate knowledge and sensitivity should be hired. If the pressures on tribal communities continue at the intensive level that they have for numerous years, we will see the boarding school institutions used as a primary placement resource. In this light, a recommendation to examine this situation becomes a mandate.

The dormitory aides might be confused about their role requirements. Introduction of other family role models must be examined. Indian studies also must become an integral part of the curriculum, developed to provide, to the maximum extent possible, the kind of education the child might receive in his or her tribal community. The instructors would not only be tribal leaders or professional Indian educators, but also models for mothers, fathers, uncles, brothers, sisters, aunts, grandparents, or other relations. Indians have a traditional paradigm on which to base these program activities, and it is imperative that it be used.

It goes without saying that child welfare services in tribal communities must be examined thoroughly to decrease the numbers of students who will be placed in boarding institutions.

Since 1969, among the Pueblos of New Mexico, who number approximately 30,000 people, about 250 Indians have graduated from college. Of these 250 persons, 110 are women[5] --less than 1 percent of the people and far less than 1/2 of 1 percent of the total number of women. What this means is that Indian people are being denied the opportunity to integrate the formal educational processes into tribal organization and structure. This is an extremely serious matter.

Many American Indian people who attend college find that they must disassociate themselves from what is familiar to them. The theoretical frameworks which are taught in these institutions do not address the philosophical components of Indian life. Many students have had to undergo the experience of taking "furlough" from being Indians and then attempting to become a part of their communities again at the completion of their education. Some institutions have established Indian studies programs, but these are still "add-ons" and not an integral part of the educational experience. Role conflicts are burdensome stresses for any person, but more so for Indians, whose identities are so closely tied to tribal organization and structure. The confusion associated with this experience is so devastating to some that acquiring an education is tantamount to becoming a non-Indian.

In the traditional sense, college students are adults, yet according to college education today they are preparing themselves for adulthood. An examination of this circumstance must be conducted. In the design of a new curriculum, attention must be given to allow the student an adult experience within the tribal context.

It is still very difficult for Indian people to find employment in their local communities. Most of the jobs which have become available in recent times are tied to programs that address community social issues but do not allow for an honest attempt to change these conditions. To ensure continued funding and the few jobs that these programs create, Indians are forced to view themselves as sick or disturbed. Additionally, these jobs are short-lived and have little, if any, promotional potential. New programs must be designed which address a positive, healthy view of the tribe.

The training programs for the above-mentioned workers are insufficient. Education in traditional tribal processes is inconsistent and, for many, not available. Some attention has been given to the education of medicine men; however, they are only part of the tribal structure. Other tribal helpers must be identified and examined, and ways must be found to translate those traditional role expectations and behaviors to the contemporary "helping" person. The authorities on Indian mental health are in the tribal communities.

Most Indian women are educated in service professions, which include nursing, social work, education, and other health-related pursuits. This is not by accident, nor is it because those are seen as the easier degrees to acquire. Indian women still are impressed with their historical and traditional roles; only recently have they begun to enter fields like business administration and engineering. The changes in some communities as a result of these new pursuits have allowed for a different interpretation of women's roles, thereby raising serious questions. The changing role of Indian women must be examined by Indian women themselves.

Of the 50 college graduates among 17 of the Pueblo villages in the school year 1975-76, 29 were women--the 1st year that more women were graduated than men.[6] That fact is especially important when it is recognized that the Pueblos represent some of the most traditionally oriented Indian people living today.

Whether women like it or not, the role of mother and homemaker is one that is always open to them as an avenue of success. Although the role of father is always open to men, that role in itself does not allow for success. Men must be not only fathers but also breadwinners to be successful. Even the serious educational deficiencies are weighted in favor of women. They can be successful in the professional and nonprofessional world, but it is not yet required of them. Indian women are becoming highly sensitive to this imbalance. Traditionally, Indian women have seen themselves as supportive to men in the same way that men are supportive to women. This is a very important change occurring in Indian life, and sensitive consideration must be given to its examination by using Indian men and women as the required researchers.

The pull of Indian people away from the reservations for employment and education results in a human drain in many communities. Many young children are left in the sole care of grandparents while parents are gone for long periods of time. Generational gaps occur because some of the links are missing. Serious thought must be given to the experience of children who do not have their parents with them to interpret the differences between the behavior patterns of their grandparents and their own values. Grandparents traditionally have cared for their grandchildren, even for long periods, when parents were away; however, when the parents returned, they reassumed their responsibility. Today, some parents do not return. Tribes need more information and a better understanding of the disruptions caused by the absence of these parents. As yet, there is not sufficient knowledge of this phenomenon to be able to shore up families appropriately to provide the strength and security required for the healthy development of the child.

All Indian women depend on the survival of tribal communities for their identity. Few, if any, can afford a professional experience that has no connection with the Indian community, especially if the value of tribal life is to be maintained. Professional Indian women must act as role models. It is essential that Indian children see adult Indian people who have developed the skills required to live in a world with different emphases but still have retained their individual characteristics. An examination of professionally trained Indian people probably would reveal that the majority of these individuals are only part Indian. What this may communicate to younger Indian people is not known, but it is important that career development programs for Indian youths must address these issues and concerns.

In all the issues where research and examination are indicated, it is clear that there is much concern with values. Some values that probably derive from the original teachings to all Indian people are shared by various tribes. Information and knowledge about these interacting networks of values are limited, yet it is of great importance to know as much about them as possible.

Again, Professor Lee helps to clarify important value distinctions:

> What I refer to as value--not a value--resides in the situation, in the field in which an individual participates. What I call a value is cultural; what I call value resides in the reality which is mediated by culture. We experience value when our activity is permeated with satisfaction, when we find meaning in our life, when we feel good, when we act not out of calculating choice and not for extraneous purpose, but rather because this is the only way that we, as ourselves, deeply want to act. What I call value can be experienced only when there is uninterrupted relatedness,

> when the self is open to the experience of the other, of the surround; when, to use Dewey's term, it is transacting, not interacting. When the other in the transaction is human, value is social, though it is experienced by the individual self. In this sense, what is a value experience for the self is found in relatedness to the other also. Further, to experience value in the situation, the relation between self and other, self and surround, must be immediate. Labeling previous to experience, categorizing, analysis, assessment, calculation, measurement, evaluation, all erect barriers diminishing or even destroying true relatedness. This is to say that to provide a value experience, the relatedness must have the character of unconditional love.
>
> What I refer to as a value is a part of the culture; and as cultures differ, so do values differ also, at least in specific form. Cultural values underlie individual choice and individual behavior; and they are known to us only through their manifestations, as expressed through the structure of the culture, the specific behavioral patterns, such as the seating arrangements, the ritual design, sometimes even the linguistic categories.[7]

The research of these issues and concerns must be controlled and managed by the tribes themselves. It is in the tribal communities where the values survive in their most wholesome sense. From this vantage point, researchers will have the clearest perspective.

The innumerable research efforts that have focused on tribes and Indians anywhere are stacked on shelves or were long ago discarded as unusable. Others are considered too complicated and/or costly to address. A few are kept in tribal or Indian program offices, and some of these are used as references.

It is the author's position that most of this work is not appropriate because it was performed by the wrong people with the wrong perspective. The sensitivity necessary to produce usable information and understanding requires the participation of those persons who have knowledge of and experience in traditional Indian education. It is these people who will be more impressed with the value of the life and will more quickly find ways to preserve it.

Organizing of American Indian women means organizing of American Indian men. There can be no separation.

NOTES

[1] Dorothy Lee, Valuing the Self: What We Can Learn From Other Cultures. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976, pp. 82-83.

[2] Special Project: Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Social Services, Social Work in Support of Education, June 1969-May 1970.

[3] Joseph D. Blanchard and Richard L. Warren, "Role Stress of Dormitory Aides at an Off-Reservation Boarding School," Human Organization 34, No. 1 (Spring 1975), p. 45.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Information from All Indian Pueblo Council, Inc., Scholarship Program, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Lee, op cit., pp. 5-6.

THE INTERACTION OF CULTURE AND SEX ROLES IN THE SCHOOLS

Beatrice Medicine

In the literature pertinent to this paper, little data directly focus on the interaction of culture and sex roles as they relate to Indian females. This is, of course, not surprising. Although American Indian cultures have been the focus of anthropological and ethnological research for numerous generations, specific studies pinpointing the influence of culture and sex roles, especially as they pertain to females in schools, are strikingly lacking. It is mainly in the life histories extant in the anthropological literature and those few about native females that we are able to obtain a view of the roles of women in the diverse cultures of native North America. An attempt on my part to fill this vacuum was a bibliography on the roles of women in native North American societies (Medicine, 1975).

Many ethnographies of various tribal groups present sketches of socialization processes that involve the internalization and actualization of sex roles. Excellent sources for these studies specific to certain tribes may be found in The Ethnographic Bibliography of North America (Murdock, 1975), and the Human Relations Area Files, which are usually found in any State university library. As much of the material obtained from tribes before they became "vanishing Americans" was couched in terms such as "primitive education" or "learning to become a Kwakiutl," for example, the rubric of "schooling" in Western terms, did not seem to be pertinent. Unfortunately, anthropological studies traditionally have been collected with a view of life in an "ethnographic present" or the pristine past. Many of these ethnographies portray tribal lifeways as they existed before the arrival of the European colonizers. There are, however, some studies on child training that are superb models for outlining the socialization of children, and for gaining insight into cross-cultural child training (Hilger, 1951, 1952). These have been explicit in outlining role learning in "primitive societies" which had no reading, writing, and arithmetic as we know it in the Western World. Yet if we look at children's games (e.g., the Micmac stick game), we find a high level of abstraction. More importantly, socialization studies have provided us a comprehension of what learning means to children who have grown up in a tribal tradition and have internalized tribal values.

This traditional research stance has confounded the importance of ethnographic reporting. For non-Indians reading these reports, it projects an image of past behaviors and attitudes to which contemporary children are expected to conform. These reports mask the adaptations and adjustment in child-training habits which indigenous societies have had to make as survival strategies. More detrimental, in my opinion, is the observed fact that many tribal ethnographies are currently being used as bases to what I have referred to as "contrived cultures" of modern "traditionalists" and emerging "medicine men" and "medicine women."

Recently, research with regard to American Indians has tended to focus on "problems." We find an abundance of studies concerned with Indian alcoholism, family disorganization, juvenile delinquency, homicide and suicide rates, as well as child adoption and fosterage. Acculturation studies have also dominated past and current research. The emphasis on studies and research in Indian education is monumental, and in many cases, meaningless. Despite tribal complaints about "being studied," many issues have not been examined and there is a continual need for further research. This, essentially, is an ambiguity of which many Indian persons are not aware.

It is against this backdrop that the roles of women in American Indian cultures must be comprehended. Anthropological researchers among America's indigenous people initially and predominantly have been European males. This has given a significant male bias to the cultural data collected. Most "informants" who supplied information about native life tended to be males. Many tribes viewed it as improper for native women to act as "informants" for White male data collectors. Surprisingly, when Franz Boas sent his students--many of them women--"out into the field," the data collecting followed the same rubrics of research--kinship, material culture, linguistic texts, art forms, and those categories which were important to the beginnings of American anthropology. A little-known fact among native populations is that Boas first utilized natives as "informants." Later, these persons became involved in collecting data and in writing about their own tribal groups. Among these persons are Arthur Parker and J.N.B. Hewitt for the Iroquoian groups, George Hunt among the Kwakiutl, Francis La Flesche for the Omaha, Warren for the Ojibwa or Anishinabe, and Ella Deloria for the Siouan groups, specifically, Lakota. This era of the "vanishing American Indian" syndrome has yielded significant studies of some of the tribes and has laid the groundwork for other native researchers to follow. However American anthropology is criticized by contemporary American Indians, the early ethnological studies have captured a quality of life which has been called "memory cultures" by some researchers. Nevertheless, these early studies remain as the only source of information about some tribes.

But to describe the inadequacies of research pertaining to our cultures and to ourselves as native women detracts from the issue which should be our main concern. Most saliently, a research caveat should indicate native perspectives in research design. By this I mean that the time is past for advisory boards. This puts the burden of the training of our students on us. We need to know the existing literature, to formulate proper hypotheses, and to develop research designs which truly reflect the quality and reality of life on our reservations, in rural communities, and in urban enclaves.

To deal with the roles of women effectively, one must eliminate demeaning research. By isolating the imagery inherent in previous literature, the roles of Indian women surface in a dichotomous fashion and should clarify future research endeavors. As with most native peoples around the world (i.e., women of darker hue in politically and economically precarious situations vis-a-vis the colonial powers of the world), Indian women were seen historically as "princess or prostitute." Only to recall the "Pocahontas as Princess" syndrome (Green, 1976), as opposed to the picture of the proffered highly sexed feminine object of explorer, trapper, and trader chronicles, places Native American women in the historic framework indicative of the assigned sex role and position which befitted these Native American women. The picture of the native woman as the gatherer, the drudge, and the human pack animal abounds in novels as well as in historical and anthropological writings and is reinforced in the current media. This image, unfortunately, is also paramount in the minds of many native men. Exploitation of feminine wiles, wills, and intelligence is apparent in behaviors and attitudes of many native men. Paradoxically, Indian women have seemingly adjusted to this double bind and have adroitly managed to coexist in tribal and urban contexts. More tellingly, many native women have contributed to this continuous cycle by conforming to the same social patterns which they witnessed their brothers and male cousins absorbing. Significantly, Indian women apparently have not risen to the call of their white, middle-class counterparts by aligning themselves with the women's liberation movement. Some have participated in the International Women's Year (1975). Others have attended the first International Conference of the Indigenous Women in the New World. Still others are active in the Indian Liberationist Movements, such as the American Indian Movement. There have been no rigorous studies of involvement. Much of this assessment has been superficial and sentimental.

In teaching courses on native women, I deliberately use the words roles and cultures in an endeavor to demolish the image of THE Indian woman and to place any research perspective within the estimated 200 indigenous cultures viable and vital in contemporary American society. For within these ongoing native groups lie the strength and adaptive mechanisms which have allowed them to survive through centuries of coerced change and conditioning for acceptance of a new lifestyle. Adapting to a new way of life has placed tremendous pressures on traditional sex roles for both males and females. This suggests that a careful look at the distinctions between the private and public sectors of the female domain and the articulation of both in the power structure of Indian communities is necessary.

Cultural change--to become assimilated or, at best, acculturated to the dominant society--has been the basis for an educational system which is similar for all native groups. Whether the native societies were matrilineal, partrilineal, or bilateral in social organization was seldom considered in the preordained prescription for change to a European model. This was the educational model. Education was the means to move from "primitiveness" to "civilization." It was the key to acceptance. Schools became the primary agents of resocializing "childlike savages" to become responsible citizens in a foreign power structure. In most instances, functionable native social systems were demolished, and the carefully construed dyadic interpersonal relationships between the sexes were carefully eliminated. Superimposition of new sex norms, behaviors, and expectations were part of a global educational policy which was applied indiscriminately across tribal boundaries in the westward expansion of a new Nation oriented and guided by a doctrine of "manifest destiny."

The time of contact was a salient factor in the collisions of cultures and in the impact on tribal lifeways. The meeting of the Europeans with the Six Nations matrilineal groups in the East was of a different order from the contact with the warrior societies of the Plains and their generally male-dominant cultural orientation. Therefore, in speaking of culture and sex roles, it is imperative to specify the tribal culture one is addressing. The cultural components--social organizational aspects, value systems, belief systems, ecological adaptations, etc.--should be outlined to assess the sex roles of the participants properly in that particular cultural milieu. One must be cognizant of the aspects of culture as a code and see it as a normative system which is the basis of cognition and behavior. Essentially, roles are a part of this cultural coding system. If one furthers the exigencies of culture contact, change must be delineated.

The agents of change (the educational agent)--be it missionary, Government agent, or trained native--and their philosophies are crucial to understanding the changing role of women in the educational process. In all cases of tribal women, we are dealing with a convergence of cultural alternatives, the obliteration of some aspects of native sex roles, and the heightening of other categories in a learning situation that ensures survival of self, as well as cultural continuity. This cannot be negated, for in most human societies, the mother is the primary socializer of children. This complexity of role internalization is further complicated by a superordinate decisionmaking process whose policies have been, and still are, applied indiscriminately to Indian people. This policy often reflects the male bias of the decisionmakers and the sexism inherent in the dominant society. The major thrust of all educational programs directed toward native populations in North America, generally and historically, has been to revamp and readjust native role categories toward acceptable conformity to a foreign society on whose side rested power and right.

To concretize these generalizations, one must look at research which deals with the delineation of the parameters of the learning process as they relate to female sex roles in a given culture. This will be attempted on four levels. First, an examination of male and female sex roles will be juxtaposed from the ethnographic literature. Second, the initial impact of culture change with the learning of new sex roles will be examined. In the third phase, the studies of school and society which concentrate on sex roles will be delineated. Finally, the direction and emphasis for future studies will be postulated from the previous three settings to a generalized view of examining cultural transmission and sex-role learning as it applies to the native population of females.

To provide a tentative model of research into tribal groups, I will focus upon the native group known in the anthropological literature as the Teton Sioux, who call themselves Lakota and who speak a dialect of the Siouan language stock, also called Lakota.

In brief, we look to Murdock (1975, Vol. 1, p. 151) and find the placement of this group in an ecological niche:

> The Teton (Western Dakota, Lakota) including the Brule (Sicangu), Hunkpapa (Uncpapa), Kulu witcaca, Minnecongou (Miniconjou), Oglala, Sana Arc, Sihasapa (Blackfoot Sioux), Teton, Two Kettle, and Wazhazha, lived in western South Dakota and western Nebraska. They now live on a number of reservations in the same area, including the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation, the Lower Brule Indian Reservation, the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, and the Standing Rock Indian Reservation all in South Dakota, and on several reserves in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Canada. They speak Siouan languages and probably number around 30,000.[1]

The Teton fit into the cultural pattern of the Plains area which depended on buffalo as a food and clothing supply, lived in a mobile hunting and warring society with a flexible, band-type social organization, and strongly emphasized the tiospaye (extended kinship group). There was a tendency to patrilocal residence. This culture generally has been characterized as male-dominant. The Teton Sioux reflect the cultural blossoming which characterized many of the other Plains tribes, such as the Cheyenne and Comanche, whose cultures changed drastically after the horse became an intrinsic part of their lives. Other Plains features, such as the Sun Dance, a major tribal ritual, the use of the portable skin tipi, as well as the war complex with coup counting, were important in this lifestyle.

Looking at ethnographic data, one must always be cognizant of the value system which serves as underlying sanctions to behavioral expectations. The value system supports behavioral norms appropriate to a social identity. It is in this context that sex roles are illuminated in their actualization. Rights, duties, and reciprocal acts are significant features in any social system.

Among the Western Dakota, the four cardinal virtues for men were bravery, fortitude, generosity, and wisdom. Interestingly, the cultural sanctions were transferred for women and for recognized role transitions. The highest virtues were industry, hospitality, kindness, and chastity among unmarried females, and fidelity and fecundity among married women. The internalization and externalization of these ideals were sanctioned by rituals, by supernatural dictates, and in ceremonies for women. Incipient women's associations upheld these values and provided honor, prestige, and recognition for adhering to the ideals of Lakota womanhood. Lakota, as with most Plains Indian cultures, were definitely oriented to male pursuits. Ethnographic studies indicate that the woman's economic role was subordinate to male activities. However, there are no studies which specifically examine women's roles in economics, as among the Iroquois (Brown, 1970).

How was proper role behavior learned, utilized, discarded, and transmitted in the lives of Lakota females? Lakota females learned their expected role behavior through precept and example, as do most children in any nonliterate society. Mirsky (Mead, 1937) bases much of her data on Ella Deloria's field notes and presents good data on the learning processes of Lakota children. In an outstanding book on the categories of socialization of Native American children, Pettitt (1946, p. 42) states that for the Plains tribes generally, "First plaything is a miniature bow given child as early as 4 years old by a proud father. Mother makes and dresses dolls for girls." It is in the life histories, however, that one obtains the nuances of native learning systems. Luther Standing Bear (1931, p. 9) indicates that kindness was salient in the parents' treatment of children, for they wanted to develop a reciprocal love in the hearts of their sons and daughters. Miniature items of material culture, i.e., cradle boards, dolls, bows and arrows, and games of the hunt and war (the *tipi* and camp move) were means of learning appropriate role behavior. By presenting unsullied models, the proper and expected sex role behaviors were transmitted to the female and male. As in all native societies depending upon informal learning processes, supernatural sanctions and recourse to the value system, combined with the aspects of shame for coercion and honor for prestige, were profound patterns for conformance in Lakota society.

Lakota society presented roles learned through observation, imitation, mythology, and folktales. Play was an important aspect in learning one's place in the group. The Lakota allowed siblings of the opposite sex to participate in these peer play groups until about the age of seven. Then the male and female siblings were separated. Extreme respect prevailed, and direct eye-to-eye contact during conversation was disapproved.

This was the time when the girl learned that her relationship to her brother was one of extreme respect and responsibility. Her future behavior was one in which she would do nothing but honor him. That is, she was expected to receive the scalps when he returned from encountering the enemy and to make his first born a completely quilled (later, beaded) cradle board. Her behavior could not detract in any way from his prestige. In turn, he protected her honor and cared for her material needs until she obtained a male to do this. He was instrumental in her choice of husband. Very often, it was a *Kola* ("friend") or a member of his warrior's society who became his brother-in-law.

Social control was exercised through the process common in small societies where gossip exerted a tremendous pressure for conformity to group norms. To shame the *tiospaye* (extended kin group) was a heinous event. Hassrick (1964) and Deloria (1944) present the most cogent accounts of the role of child training, as well as the enactment of kinship expectations in reciprocal interpersonal relationships.

In contrast to the oft-supposed belief that all Indian cultures are alike, I present some pertinent data on early socialization patterns from two Plains groups. The first example is almost identical to the Lakota female expectations. Gladwin (1957, p. 116), in reference to the Cheyenne, an Algonkian-speaking group, writes:

> Though information on childhood sexuality is lacking . . . we do know that the grandparents began early to warn the child . . . and particularly that the daughter did marry in the formal and respectable manner through family gift exchange. Such a marriage was made impossible not only if the girl chose to elope, but even if she were unchaste. To be unchaste a girl did not have to have intercourse with a boy; she was defiled if he touched her genitals, or even her breasts. For this reason, a Cheyenne girl, after her first menses, donned a rope and rawhide cover which acted effectively as a chastity belt.

Contrasting this to the Comanche, a Shoshonean-speaking group, Linton states (Kardiner, 1945, p. 75):

> Sexual play between children began at an early age, and was carried on quite freely as long as the two children were not brother and sister. The Comanche paid no attention to virginity; they took these childhood relations more or less for granted.

Thus, besides language differentiation, we find that female sex roles are not homogeneous in a culture in which ecological adaptation and female economic roles are similar. Interestingly, in looking at life history materials, we see that the internalization of feminine roles reflects cultural variations, even though the life histories were collected at different times (Michelson, 1932; Jones, 1968).

It could be hypothesized that it is in the areas of child socialization and value constructs that American Indian societies seem to have remained more reflective of cultural continuity. This coincides with theories of culture contact and change.

At the risk of sounding didactic, again I reiterate that in order to deal significantly with women's roles, one must isolate them and the cultural values that form the foundation of the particular tribal group.[2]

As in many tribal societies, the onset of the menses among the Lakota was seen as a liminal period and was reinforced by intense activity and isolation from the tribe. Besides obtaining advice on her future role from an older woman of good character or from her grandmother, quill embroidery and moccasin-making occupied the girl's time. This was to ensure industriousness throughout her life. As the division of labor was cooperatively arranged between Lakota males and females, role designation became important. Hassrick (1946, p. 196) indicates:

> The division of labor was a cooperatively designed arrangement wherein each sex did that work for which they believed they were best suited. That women's work involved the labors of tanning, carrying wood, and on occasion bearing burdens in no way inferred a low status. Evidence to the contrary is offered by the high position of women among the Sioux, the values placed upon virtue, upon child-bearing and upon industry and craftsmanship.

It is often reported in the literature that the Sioux woman's role was well defined and apparently was not distinguished by conflict. There is also evidence that girls were honored to be in the "child beloved" syndrome, to be chosen to cut the sacred tree in the Sun Dance, to be in the retinue of the four attendants, to be chosen in marriage in an appropriate exchange of horses, and to sponsor a virtue feast ("biting the knife") ceremony at the Sun Dance as evidence of being a faithful wife. These were normative aspects of living for Lakota women. The fact that sororal polygyny and the mother-in-law taboo were part of the culture indicates an understanding of the dynamics of human relationships.

This is not to say that "precontact societies" were without stresses and human frailties. To give a male viewpoint, but based upon several reputable woman informants, Hassrick (1946, p. 45) indicates:

> In a society which accepts polygamy as a man's prerogative, in which by the mere beat of a drum a man might announce the dissolution of his marriage, in a group where men's advances were so insistent that unmarried girls were protected by constant chaperonage even to the extent of wearing chastity belts, the ideal of monogamous virtue at first appears out of context. And yet, monogamy was not inconsistent with the Sioux way, possibly if for no other reason than that it was really less bothersome. While the double standard undoubtedly had its male advocates, it certainly must have created difficult and embarrassing situations for the girl and her family. Divorce, too, meant a certain upheaval, even outside the family circle. It frequently involved emotional tensions through jealousy, retribution, and unrequited love, and not a few divorces ended in murder.

Wife-stealing presented a dilemma to the Lakota. It was a man's prerogative to cut off an unfaithful wife's nose. She was forever branded as an immoral woman, and her chances for remarriage were slim. The data indicate that frequently her role was that of a *witkowin* (literally "crazy woman," harlot). Analogous to the male who could not function as a warrior--the culturally sanctioned and institutionalized role--the *berdache* (commonly assumed to be a homosexual) was the male counterpart of the *witkowin*. Dreaming allowed a Lakota female to reject her role as wife and mother and become a *witkowin*. How frequently women had recourse to this option is obscured by the lack of data in the literature. Examinations of Siouan folktales and myths, as well as current field work, are presenting insight into this question.

The foregoing description attempts to analyze the roles of women in a culture before the onslaught of their confinement to reservations and the determined destruction of male warriors' roles, with the attendant disruption of the dyadic relationship between the sexes among the Western Sioux or Lakota.

It is the early confinement to the reservation that poses lacunae in our understanding of the changing roles of male and female in Lakota society in the late 1880's. The destruction of the warrior-hunter-provider role for males can often be found in the reports of military men who discuss the vanquished tribes. The demoralizing aspects of this military feat upon the male psyche are often ignored. The Government agents who controlled native life during the early reservation period can be studied in the reports of such Indian agents as McGillycuddy and McLaughlin. These reports abound in the controls which such agents foisted upon militarily defeated and confined native populations. It is only through the oral history, and again life histories, mostly male (Standing Bear, 1924, 1931), that one glimpses early reservation life. Standing Bear (1931) points out a poignant example of his mother's dumping out ration flour (possibly thought to be laced with arsenic) and making a shirt for him from the muslin sack. If a generalization may be made, it is that the female roles of mother, sister, and wife were ongoing because of the continued care they were supposed to provide for the family. But what of the role of woman in relationship to agents, to soldiers guarding the "hostiles," and to their general physical deprivation in societies whose livelihood and way of life had been destroyed along with the bison? We are very nearly bereft of data and statements which would clarify the transitional status of Indian women during this period. The strategies adopted for cultural survival and the means of transmitting these to daughters and nieces are valuable adaptive mechanisms which cannot even partially be reconstructed. It is only by carefully eliciting data from the 70- and 80-year-old women on Northern Plains reservations that we are able to obtain tantalizing bits of information about womanhood during this period.[3]

Besides the Indian agents' reports to the Department of War and later the Department of the Interior, McGillycuddy's report is a gem. Writing about Pine Ridge Reservation (1941, p. 205-206):

> McGillycuddy was more elated over the institution of the boarding school at Pine Ridge than over any other single accomplishment since the beginning of his services as agent, barring only his organization of the Indian police. The school was a model of its kind, with large halls, airy bathrooms, and sleeping apartments, with small clean beds. The bathrooms were provided with metal bathtubs and with hot and cold water. The living room was comfortably furnished. And the kitchen had a huge range with a capacity of 100 loaves of bread. Everything was in perfect order when the children, a certain number from each camp, were brought to the school.

> On the opening day hundreds of curious Indians--bucks, squaws, and children--hung about the building wondering just what was going to happen to the 200 youngsters sequestered within it. McGillycuddy advised pulling down the shades at the windows in the large bathroom on the ground floor to exclude the gaze of the inquisitive.
>
> The first step toward civilizing these primitive children was to purge them of various uncleanlinesses. The several bathrooms as well as the laundry were the scenes of activity, the hair-cutting to be accomplished first, followed by a bath, which would include washing the heads. It was a labor-saving device.
>
> In each bathroom a teacher armed with shears was prepared to begin operations. Curious peepers stood close to the windows on the ground floor, deeply regretful of the drawn shades which barred their observation of the activities carried on behind them. There the matron seated a small boy and taking a lousy braid in one hand, raised the shears hanging by a chain from her waist. A single clip and the filthy braid would be severed. But unfortunately, at that moment, a breeze blew back the shade from the window. The previously baffled effort of a youngster plastered against the casing on the outside of the window was now rewarded by a fleeting glimpse of his playmate seated in the chair and a tall lean woman with a pair of shears in her hand prepared to divest the boy of his hair--a Delilah bringing calamity upon an embryo Samson.
>
> Like a war whoop rang out the cry: "Pahin Kaksa, Pahin Kaksa!" The enclosure rang with alarm; it invaded every room in the building and floated out on the prairie. No warning of fire or flood or tornado or hurricane, not even the approach of an enemy, could have more effectively emptied the building as well as the grounds of the new school as did the ominous cry, "They are cutting the hair!" Through doors and windows the children flew, down the steps, through the gates and over fences in a mad flight toward the Indian villages, followed by the mob of bucks and squaws as though all were pursued by a bad spirit. They had been suspicious of the school from the beginning; now they knew it was intended to bring disgrace upon them.
>
> McGillycuddy's raised hands, his placating shouts, and his stern commands were less effective than they had been on occasions of threatened outbreak. He was impotent to stem the flight. He calmed the excited teachers, assuring them that the schoolhouse would soon again be filled with children. But their faces expressed disappointment as well as chagrin over the apparent failure of his attempt to civilize the Sioux.

This vignette graphically denotes the impact of new social institutions among the Lakota. It does not, however, present a view of women's roles. We do know from this account, and from Lakota oral history, that native women often returned from eastern boarding schools, such as Carlisle, to become the matrons in various reservation boarding schools. One can only imagine the individual psychic toll of a native woman caught in this dilemma. It is also interesting to study the adaptive means which enabled native women to cope with their environment during this period. Much of role internalization in a situation of cultural conflict can be seen in life history material, e.g., Hopi (viz, Qoyawagma, 1964). While one looks in vain for data reflecting women's changing roles, articles such as "Sioux Women at Home" (Illustrated American, 1891) reflected the journalistic reporting which described Lakota women in the stereotyped beast-of-burden tradition.

Among the Western Lakota, the Episcopal church and the Jesuits provided most of the early educational models. The standards established by General Pratt in the Carlisle mode were prevalent thoughout "Indian country." One-half of the time was devoted to industrial training--blacksmithing and agriculture for boys and housekeeping for girls. In the policy "to civilize" and "to humanize," Indian students were placed in boarding schools and were stripped of their cultural backgrounds. Native languages were forbidden, military discipline was the norm, and corporal punishment was administered. This pattern of education continued into the 1920's. With the instigation of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, a new era was heralded with the Collier administration. The research generated in this period has provided significant studies of both the school environment and the Indian personality.

During the Collier administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, large-scale investigation of the current status of Indian children resulted in many studies (Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Leighton and Leighton, 1944; Thompson and Joseph, 1945; Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949; MacGregor, 1946). These milestone studies are seldom consulted by researchers--either Indian or non-Indian. The data found by MacGregor (1946) are provocative. By utilizing interviews, school records, and psychological tests (Grace Arthur Point Performance Scale [short form], Goodenough Draw-A-Man test, Kuhlmann-Anderson Test, Stewarts' Emotional Response Test [revised], Bavelas Test of Moral Ideology, Murray's Thematic Apperception Test [revised], and the Rorschach Psychodiagnostic Test), some interesting statements may be made about Lakota females. For our purposes, the data found by MacGregor, 1946 (pp. 195-198) are revealing:

> The girls follow much the same development as the boys until they reach adolescence, but they appear to reach the various stages a year or two earlier than the boys, as white girls do.
>
> The youngest group of girls, aged eight to ten, feel that the family serves as a great protection to them, as do the boys of the same age group. But the departure of a member from the family circle, or the sickness or death of a relative, upsets the girls' feelings of security in the family even more than it does the young boys'. The girls appear to acquire the pattern of

thoughtful and kind behavior and to enjoy the social relationships outside the family at an earlier age than the boys. Their greater enjoyment of going to school and being among the crowd on holiday occasions reflects both a little more maturity and the confinement imposed upon them at home. The little girls do not give as many responses as the boys about being afraid of being left alone, probably because they are kept closer to their mothers. The youngest girls show better social integration because they indicate less concern about themselves and more interest in the welfare of others.

Girls of this age group become involved in fights and quarrels, but they are disturbed about this behavior and the troubles made for them by others. They express also some fear of the opposite sex and show that they are already aware of their sexual role and the conduct expected of them. Fear of the physical environment is also clearly evident from their responses. Even to a greater extent than the eight to ten-year-old boys, the girls of this age group are afraid of animals and especially snakes. This fear is excessive and may reinforce their general apprehension which develops later.

Girls of eleven to thirteen continue to expand their relationships with social groups outside the family. School creates an excellent opportunity for this, and the pleasure of attending school increases. The family does not decrease in importance but now imposes stronger restrictions on the girls' behavior, obviously because they are approaching or entering adolescence. The conciousness of their sexual role dominates the behavior of the girls themselves. They appear more afraid of the advances of men and boys and the criticism of the community. They are also interested in clothes and personal ornaments.

Because modesty and restrained behavior are expected of girls, fighting makes them feel deeply ashamed. Evidently they try to control such behavior but express some of their aggression in stealing. They show both embarrassment and anger about such behavior, which indicates that they become participants as well as objects of it.

By the time the girls become adolescent or post-adolescent, their behavior changes and in some directions their anxieties increase. They are kept in the home and given a strong position there. Interest in the solidarity and security of the family is maintained. School assumes a more serious aspect as the girls become more interested in getting an education. They continue to have a good time there, and they are now also interested in getting a job, although to a lesser degree than boys of their age. It is in their relationships and attitudes outside the family and formal school life that the girls show the greater change. Life about them appears to cause more apprehension and create more

> social difficulties than at any earlier age. They are more afraid to be alone, more afraid of the dark, of ghosts, and of what may befall them or their relatives. They are also more anxious now about being sick or dying. The type of responses about sickness and also "getting well" suggests that some of their concern about sickness is associated with menstruation.
>
> The older girls appear to have lost some of their anxiety about direct aggression from others, especially boys. They are now having boy friends without feelings of shame or excessive fear. The rough behavior of boys may arouse their anger rather than fear, and they often strike back. But they feel that this conduct is very bad, worse than stealing. In fact, "stealing" drops out of their replies to the Emotional Response Test, although it appears as bad conduct in their Moral Ideology Test responses.

Additionally, MacGregor (1946, p. 118) indicates that "the position of women in the family and community has risen, and their function in the family is often more important today than that of the men." He notes that changes in role and status have led to hostility on the part of both men and women, with resultant family breakup. In delineating the type of training girls received in this period, we see that

> girls are taught the essentials of home management, including nutrition. They may also learn at school a number of crafts which will bring additional income into the home, and many become skilled weavers and potters. Allied with the vocational training in some respects is the performance of school maintenance work by the students. Helping in the school kitchen and dining room may also be helpful to girls. But operating the school laundry machines, cleaning the campus and classrooms, and similar chores fall into the category of institutional labor, whatever training value may be connected with them. (MacGregor, 1946, p. 142).

Thus, even though the philosophical basis of education is oriented to the Lakota culture (except weaving and pottery), the boarding school pattern was, and is, still operative.

This is an enduring pattern in boarding school education. It is extremely difficult when looking at the more recent studies (e.g., Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972) to see precise role differentiation in schools. The delicate matter of learning sex roles in schools and the effects of changed curriculums and school settings is not an important factor in these studies.

The statement made by MacGregor (1946, p. 58) concerning familial relationships is important. He notes that: "Mother-daughter relationship is commonly a very lasting one, and, after marriage, the daughter is constantly returning home to have her babies or help her mother in emergencies." However, the mother-son bond is equally lasting, if not stronger. He notes a great dependence of a boy on the mother.

Of vast significance, at least for this tribal group, is the conclusion reached by MacGregor (1946, p. 214): "Women have increased their importance in family life and have already emancipated themselves from their former supplementary role. Through organized clubs and guilds, the parent-teacher association, and the community and tribal council, they have accepted active community leadership." By looking carefully at the published sources, I have attempted to trace the changing roles of a Lakota woman. In this case, the data were collected from the area of Pine Ridge. This study could be replicated, and indeed, should be done for each tribal society to provide a cross-cultural perspective. As Goldfrank indicates, "The very fact that the Sioux of today can afford to avoid a testing of his communal strength on the realities of today allows him to preserve an anachronistic system of child training which remains the continued source of inner peace under desperate communal conditions" (Goldfrank, 1943, p. 151). Statements such as these in the anthropological literature should challenge native researchers to question whether the values should be anachronistic or adaptive.

The task at hand, given the mandates of the conference, is to present research proposals to build upon cultural differences and isolate general coping mechanisms which are characteristic of tribal societies undergoing change. The goal is to study American Indian women from this perspective.

At the outset, it must be stated that each native woman has undergone a secondary socialization process of translating and transforming experiences from one cultural base to another. The encountering of differing norms, motivations, and expectations of bicultural experiences has been standard fare for American Indian females. An examination of these social forces which have formed a personal experience for each of us should be appraised realistically. Many of us do not often reflect on situations which have allowed us to cope in several different cultural and subcultural arenas. Of greater concern are the effective and affective influences we have upon others--spouse, families, and children. "Family" in this sense is broader-based than the usually evoked nuclear family. Fictive kin, female supportive systems, female bonding, and other means of coping in reservation and urban life all should be part of this awareness. We also should be aware of the literature on contemporary Indian lifestyles.[4]

The concept of male dominance should be seen in cross-cultural settings. An example of this would be to look at dyadic relationships between males and females in cultures which have been reported as matrilineal and patrilineal. The nature of conditioning experienced by girls and boys also should be examined. This would involve aspects of tribal sexism. What are female strategies for control of their domains? Insofar as possible, the cultural institutions and residence patterns should be seen as facilitators of sex roles and sex differences. What are the characteristics of contemporary tribal lifestyles? In light of this, attitudes and values of the people should be seen as affective activators for behavior. In each case, the contemporary situation should be explicated in light of the past to show the dynamics of present-day culture.

Finally, some specific research suggestions. The type of family structure, its fragmentations and strengths; the types of role dysfunctions (male/female homosexuality); aspects of controls exerted by women; the nature of social control; the reward and punishment systems of child training; aspects of role modeling and significant others (e.g., grandmothers) and schools as transitional institutions are only some of the areas which need investigation to shed light on the role of American Indian women in North American society. In contemporary tribal societies, how are the parameters of power, authority, and influence along sex lines perceived and activated? It is only when we can state empirically and analytically the cultural configurations of Indian female sex roles, as learned in family kinship systems and school situations, that our understanding is enhanced, and our options are clarified.

NOTES

[1] Assessing this, one notes that the Standing Rock Reservation is in South Dakota and North Dakota, with the agency at Ft. Yates. The statement with regard to population figures ("probably number around 30,000") is a common one when American Indians are concerned. Since Indians were first enumerated in the 1970 census in a distinct self-ascribed category, this first demographic deficiency must be acknowledged for research purposes. A mandate stating that there appears to be no one source for reliable data concerning Indians must be made.

[2] In many of the statements made by contemporary Indian "leaders" and some writers (see Blanchard, this publication) I am appalled at the notion that clans were the basis of social organization of Indian tribes. This, in essence, is viewing ALL native societies from a tribal ethnocentrism, rather than from the frequently accused white ethnocentrism. More dangerous, in my view, is the fact that because a native person stated it, this fallacy carries double jeopardy. I have articulated this view at the National Education Association's Conference on Values at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in April 1976, in response to this same point made by Lloyd Elm and Eddy Benton. My suggestion is that all native writers be cognizant of the cultural backgrounds of the groups they are discussing and explicate this information.

[3] Intriguing and provocative bits of conversation abound in my field notes. Ella C. Deloria stated to the author (Vermillion, S.D., 1969), referring to early reservation days, "Times were hard in those days. Some of the head men even sold their daughters to the soldiers. Of course, our families didn't." In recounting genealogies of the early reservation period, I am amazed at the intermarriage and the infusion of Caucasian, Oriental, and African genes into the native populations. My research with Piegan shed some interesting aspects of culture change and women's roles, viz, "Warrior Women of the Plains."

[4] See for example, Jeanne Guillemin, Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of American Indians. Although this study is of Micmac (Canadian) Indians in an American city, it presents a realistic view of Indian women and their relationship to other females and to males. The role of conflict and its resolution, female bonding, and sharing of information about men, jobs, and coping strategies should impart new insight into research on urban Indian families. Models for research into contemporary reservation life are not too plentiful. See, however, my article, "The Lakota Family and the Stresses Therein," in Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, 1969.

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HEALTH PROBLEMS FACING AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

Rosemary Wood

INTRODUCTION

A comprehensive discussion of the health problems confronting American Indian women must include more than a recitation of statistical data and/or in-depth discussions of clinical diseases. To understand the psychodynamics of the individual, it is important to examine that individual's psychosocial development; to understand the physiological functioning of an individual, an examination of that individual's physical development from the embryo through aging is essential. This is true of any classification of people--to understand the health problems facing American Indian women, it is necessary to examine the physical and cultural development of their health problems.

This paper traces the development of health problems and health services of American Indians from pre-Columbian America through U.S. Government and Indian treaties that form the basis of today's Indian health systems. This paper also presents an indepth discussion of the cultural factors involved in the study of Indian and "white" medicine.

Any discussion of health problems includes: (1) health needs; and (2) health resources available to meet these needs. The quality of health resources depends on the deliverers of health care services. Since the focus of this essay is on American Indian women, this paper's discussion of health care deliverers will focus on American Indian women as health care professionals. This discussion includes: (1) the need for Indian women in health careers; (2) the problems peculiar to Indian women in health careers; and (3) the problems of Indian women as students of health sciences.

As previously stated, any discussion of health problems includes health needs and health resources. In addition to a discussion of health resources, (i.e., health care deliverers), this paper describes the present health status of American Indians, as well as the conditions of ill health peculiar to American Indian women.

The following definitions will be used for this paper:

Health--A state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (World Health Organization).

> White--An abstraction that is a composite of social, political, and economic attitudes by certain people whose skin is usually whiter than most of the world's population and who behaved in a certain way toward primitive peoples wherever they were encountered around the globe. The white is a colonizer who early developed an advanced technology; he is an exploiter of human and natural resources; he has destroyed, often intentionally, almost every alien culture he has come in contact with; and he has imposed an iron rule on the remnant peoples of these cultures (Peter Farb).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH PROBLEMS AND HEALTH SERVICES

Pre-Columbian America

It is not the purpose of this paper to promote the stereotype of the American Indian as the Noble Savage, or the Indian woman as the Indian Maiden or Indian Princess, or the Indian homeland as a Garden of Eden. However, it is important to recognize realistically the relationship between such variables as environment, culture, and natural immunities. Before the white colonizers found their way to the North American continent, which they mistook for India (i.e., before Columbus "discovered" America), this continent and its inhabitants were relatively free from epidemics and major infectious diseases. There was no black death, cholera, yellow fever, malaria, typhoid, tuberculosis, diphtheria, or measles.

The following description of North America appeared in a recent issue of Time:

> The pioneer immigrants brought their foul European diseases with them. Aboard their ships, filthy water and human and animal wastes sloshed around the bilges for a month or more. Men and women who were healthy when they left Europe were sick when they landed.

This article further explains that these sicknesses had causes other than malnutrition, which is the most common historical explanation. The effect on the continent and the people also is reported:

> Some such as smallpox, malaria and measles proved effective biological-warfare weapons, ravaging the Indians, who had no immunity against them. But most of the disease-causing microbes of the Old World took readily to the fertile soil of the New World, and so did the insects and vermin that carry them. The result for fully three centuries, North America was scourged by deadly epidemics (Time, 1976).

Another popular theme found in the history books of the colonizers' high schools, colleges, and medical schools is that the Indians gave syphilis to the Europeans. This piece of propaganda can be traced to a certain John Josselyn, writing in 1674. The same Time articles mentioned above pointed out that Josselyn "attributed to the Indians the great pox (syphilis), consumption of the lungs, the king's evil (scrofula) and falling sickness--all of which happened to be imports from the Old World." These diseases were born of filth and uncleanliness, and the American Indian had no knowledge of them. The American Indian was neither physically nor culturally prepared to deal with these plagues and pestilences. In terms of physiology, the Indians had no natural or acquired immunities. In a cultural sense, Indian medicine had never been prepared to handle such diseases which were unnatural ravages to them. Although it is there for those who wish to read, it is not necessary to rely on the written word of the colonizer to glean this information. The facts are available in the verbal history of our people and persist to the present day. Kekahbah reports the following data obtained from her work among the Wichitas:

> Kekahbah: What type of diseases does the medicine man cure?
>
> Respondent: All except the White . . . you know the medicine man does not have medicine for those illnesses that were not here before the White Man came (Kekahbah, 1974).

There is a small cemetery at Haskell Indian School that graphically plots the effect of the white man's disease on Indian children, as row upon row the eulogies provide name, date of birth, date of death, and tribe. Every tribe is represented, as is every age below 12, and every epidemic.

Indian women in pre-Columbian America have been portrayed in popular books of the colonizers as the drudge, the burden bearer, the humble servant to her man. In the less popular anthropological writings and in the verbal history of the people, the Indian woman enjoyed a much greater freedom than her European counterpart, who was cinched tightly around the waist and feet. The white woman is a man's pleasure to look at "to bring forth children in pain and suffering." The Indian woman was valued as a doer of deeds; she was respected in youth and middle age for contributions to the common good and was honored in her later years for her wisdom. There were, and are, matriarchal tribes and others in which the main business of politics centers around and stems from the clan mothers. Years of colonization, Christianization, and education disrupted this particular cultural pattern in the same way that other patterns have been disrupted. Today there are tribes, despite white assimilation, wherein women serve on the tribal council. Recently, there have been women chairing tribal councils, such as Ada Deer of the Menominee Tribe and Camila Wishkeno of the Prairie Band Potawatomi.

The white explorers and, more recently, white sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists, because of their own culture, have viewed the relationship between Indian men and Indian women as a derivative of the white culture. Some whites believe that the Indian woman has loose morals. This white myth possibly stems from a comparison with the white woman who did not enjoy sex, but engaged in it as part of her "wifely duty." Whites have viewed Indian men as weak. It is possible that this white myth is a result of comparing Indian men with white men whose feeling of inadequacy, fear of castration, and latent homosexuality compels them toward outrageous performances designed to prove their shaky virility. White beliefs, myths, and history notwithstanding, the pre-Columbian Indian woman enjoyed much freedom and high status within her family and tribe (American Way).

As the whites patterned Indian women in accordance with white culture, the colonizers also interpreted Indian medicine in much the same manner. To provide more than a superficial discussion of the health problems faced by Indian women, it is imperative to have some understanding of the health delivery systems of both the white colonizers and the Native Americans.

Indian Medicine/White Medicine--Cultural Institutions

This discussion focuses on what has come to be known as Indian medicine. The term Indian medicine, within the American Indian community, is a broad category that includes various good and evil forces interacting among the physiological, emotional, and spiritual realms of the human experience. This discussion will concentrate on those aspects of "Indian medicine" that are usually referred to in Western European thought as physical health. Although the focus of the discussion is "physical well-being" or "physical health," aspects of mental and spiritual health will be mentioned. Traditionally, Indian people approach the world in a holistic manner. For them, health is a natural state in which human beings live in harmony with the total environment (Bergman, Castaneda). For this reason it is impossible in a discussion of Indian medicine to mention one culture and exclude all others. The intent here is to combine knowledge from both cultural experiences.

Every human being is a product of some culture that dictates how that individual perceives and interprets the world around him (Kluckhohn and Benedict). The literature on health sciences is begining to demonstrate that health care deliverers and social scientists are not immune to defining the world in terms of their own culture. Beshville, for example, has compiled the papers of several social scientists describing the cultural bias found in psychological testing; Bergman, Meninger, and Torrey have discussed the erroneous labeling by White scientists with regard to the use of peyote; Torrey, in comparing the actual effectiveness of Indian medicine men and white psychiatrists, claims that success has been related more to the observer's culture than to actual effectiveness (Torrey). In a content analysis of BIA research and literature by Indian authors, Levine demonstrates a wide divergence between the two in terms of describing American Indians. Kekahbah and Wood (1972) used indepth interviews to reveal misunderstandings between non-Indian deliverers and Indian consumers of health care in the area of attitudes toward cultural values. Cross-cultural concerns must take into account both the American Indian and white cultures.

Up to this point, most of that which has been written about Indian medicine has been produced by white authors and, naturally, reflects the white perspective. Thus, white literature about Indians is as much a record of white culture as it is of Indian culture.

Literature by white authors about Indian medicine historically outlines four general categories of belief:

TABLE 1

BELIEFS ABOUT INDIAN MEDICINE

Category	Description	Time
Magic--Projected	The white belief that Indians use magic and it works.	1492-1800
Magic--Denied-Projected	The white belief that Indians superstitiously think they (Indians) use magic BUT that it does not work.	1800-1930
Magic--Explained-Projected or Psychosomatic	The white belief that Indians superstitiously think they (Indians) use magic and in some cases it works but only because the Indians believe it will work.	1930-1970
Cross-Cultural--Scientific	The white belief that Indians have a body of knowledge essentially unknown to white scientists.	1970-

These categories are further explained below.

Magic--Projected--Early white European explorers recorded their cultural tendency for perceiving witches, acts of magic, and devils in the behavior of American Indians. This tendency on the part of whites to perceive and interpret the world in terms of magic and witchcraft is exemplified in Vogel's (1970) documentation:

> During the bitter cold winter of 1535-36, three ships of Jacques Cartier were frozen fast in the fathom-deep ice of the St. Lawrence River near the site of Montreal. Isolated by four feet of snow, the company of 110 men subsisted on the fare stored in holds of the ship. Soon scurvy was so rampant among them that by mid-March 25 men had died and the others, 'only three or four excepted,' were so ill that hope for their recovery was abandoned. As the crisis deepened, Cartier had the good fortune to

> encounter once again the local Indian chief, Domagia, who had cured himself of the same disease . . . (Vogel, 1970).

According to Vogel's continued account, all white explorers treated by the Indians were cured. The white explorers returned to Europe with reports of magical trees and "marveled at the curative skill of the natives" (Vogel, 1970, 3). It was also during this era that white explorers searched the Americas for the fountains of youth and cities of gold. These reports by earlier white explorers do not document that the Indians actually were practicing witchcraft or magic, nor do they indicate that the Indians actually *believed* that they were practicing these crafts. What these reports do document is the whites' own belief in witchcraft. Early white explorers took Indian medicine men for witches, which was an indication of what whites thought witches looked like. White Americans' belief in witches also is documented in reports of the Salem witch hunts, during which time any and all inexplicable behavior was perceived as witchcraft.

Magic--Denied-Projected--Later literature indicates a shift in white thinking away from belief in magic, demonology, and witches. This turning point roughly coincides with the Industrial Revolution in England, with advancements in physical technology, and with an increased knowledge of physical science. From this point on, whites began documenting their interpretations of Indian culture in terms of the Indian's *belief* that he was practicing witchcraft, not in terms of the Indians practicing witchcraft. This change in the literature indicates that while white culture no longer recognized magic as a legitimate explanation of phenomena, whites continued to project the use of magic, or at least the belief in the use of magic, onto the members of the Indian culture. An example of this continued practice of interpreting Indian medicine in terms of the Indians' superstitious tendencies is seen in the following statement by Curtis:

> No effort was made to determine the mechanical aids to slight-of-hand used in producing the illusions. Having gone thoroughly into the magic of tribes most efficient in ceremonial legerdemain, the writer could probably have told his informants more as how the miracles were performed than they themselves knew (Curtis, 1930, 71).

This statement by Curtis is not only extremely egocentric, but it is representative of the attitude of most white anthropologists of his time. The idea of Indians practicing magic was a European perception made obvious by statements of Indians who do not perceive or interpret their medical practices in terms of magic or witchcraft, but as *simply* a different body of knowledge. That Indians perceive their medicine in terms other than witchcraft is seen in the following documentation by Kekahbah, which is taken from her fieldwork among the Wichitas: "Our old people long years ago--I know, I'm pretty old--but I do remember because my grandfather was one of the doctors. White people would call it witch doctors. They weren't witches. The word to the Indian, a witch, is somebody who does ugly things--you know." According to the Wichitas' informant, "witch" is a white word, and when used by Indian people it denotes the explicit knowledge that a white word is being borrowed to describe a similar, but different phenomenon.

Magic--Explained-Projected or Psychosomatic--Recent (since the 1930's on since the major developments in social science) interpretations of Indian medicine by white scientists have been in terms of pseudopsychology, projected psychodynamics, or psychosomatic medicine. According to these white interpretations, Indian medicine does work in certain cases, but the *reason* it works is because of the individual's belief that it will work. This interpretation of Indian medicine remains today the most usual white explanation within both popular and scientific literature. This explanation, like all previous ones, attests more to the present scientific theories and moral beliefs of the white people than to the actual character of Indian medicine (Beiser, 1975). Jilek, for example, recognizes and reports the obvious benefits of the Salish Spirit Power. According to Jilek:

> Today the main field of traditional healing in the Coast Salish area is that of disorders in which psychoneurotic and psychophysiologic mechanisms are prominent and socio-cultural factors play an important role. My co-workers and I have found that Indian patients with such disorders benefit much more from indigenous therapeutic procedures than from exclusive use of Western treatment resources. These are the cases that figure in the stories of miraculous cures through indigenous treatment.

Although Jilek recognized the effectiveness of Indian medicine, rather than report the Indians' explanation of why the indigenous techniques work, Jilek turns to white technology and psychosomatic interpretation in his search for cause-effect. In this regard, Jilek states:

> [Ceremonies] . . . are designed to bring about the altered state of consciousness in which the neophyte acquires his spirit helper and finds his "song." A major factor operating in this process is the effect of rhythmic sensory stimulation; the initiate is repeatedly and for hours exposed to the loud sounds of deer-hide drums, accompanied by monotonous chanting, shaking of deer-hide drums, and beating of sticks. Analysis of this drumming has revealed the frequencies of three to five cps predominate during initiation procedures. Some researchers feel that such a stimulus frequency, within or close to the theta range of the human electroencephalogram, is most effective in the production of trance states by auditory driving, which may provide the neurophysiological basis for the known contagiousness of Spirit Power during initiation ceremonies.

This statement by Jilek is a perfect example of psychosomatic interpretation of Indian medicine. When explanations for the effectiveness of Indian medicine, other than psychosomatic, have been reported in "scientific" journals ("The Beneficial Use of Peyote," by Bob Bergman, for example), they have been met with much less than acceptance. One white scientist responded to Bergman's report on the use of peyote with the following statement: "Rather than hail the peyote cult as something safe and helpful to the Indians, I think it equally possible that peyote is an 'opiate of the people.' That helps them bear the ignominious end of a once strong, proud, triumphant, and very creative tribe." The writers agree with Beiser that while the above statement contains some partial insights and is safely "liberal" in tone, it also exemplifies the present White attitude toward Indian medicine i.e., to ascribe psychosomatic explanation to Indian techniques.

Cross-Cultural--Scientific--The fourth interpretation of Indian medicine, cross-cultural--scientific, cannot truly be categorized as white or Indian. As stated previously, the cross-cultural--scientific category is simply the recognition that Indian medicine consists of a body of knowledge different from that known to white scientists. According to this interpretation, Indian medicine is not explainable in Western scientific terms, and when analogies are made they are with a clear understanding that they are in terms of the scientists' own culture. Bergman, for instance, states:

> Non-Navajo explanations of why all this effort helps anyone tend to be rather offensive to the medicine men themselves, and their explanations, if they should feel like giving any, tend to be unsatisfying to us. They also reject the notion that they are using figures of speech. They do not attach as much significance to the distinctions among different levels of reality as we do, and like some poets, they reject as stupid and destructive any attempt to translate their words into ordinary language. Though it seems to me that their myths and chants are symbols of human social-psychological forces and events, they would regard such a statement as silly and missing the point. Nevertheless, I will make a slight attempt in that direction (Bergman, 1973, p. 633).

Castaneda, in discussing his apprenticeship to Don Juan, states:

> Personally, as a Western man, I found these characteristics so bizarre that it was virtually impossible to explain them in terms of my own everyday life, and I was forced to the conclusion that any attempt to classify my filed data in my own terms would be futile. Thus, it became obvious to me that Don Juan's knowledge had to be examined in terms of how he himself understood (Castaneda, 1974, p. 20).

It must be remembered that the time frames indicate when a certain belief first gained popularity. All beliefs are to be found in today's society. In fact, all described beliefs, contradictory as they are, frequently exist side by side within an individual.

U.S. Government and Tribal Nations--A Special Relationship

Indian people have a dual citizenship; they are citizens of the United States and as such have the same rights and responsibilities as do any other U.S. citizens. In addition, Indians are members of various tribal governments. Indian governments (or nations) and the Federal Government have special relationships established by treaty agreement, by congressional ruling, or by tradition. The development of these relationships is described in the following discussion.

During the 1800's, the cost of the Indian Wars was becoming an ever-increasing expense to the U.S. Government. In lieu of the killing cost, which had risen to $1 million per Indian, and because of pressure by land-hungry expansionists and gold-crazed miners, the U.S. Government reevaluated its Indian policy. It was determined that it would cost less to "maintain" Indians on reservations and to provide those necessities that the people could not acquire for themselves if Indians agreed to their own confinement. Among these necessities were health care services. When possible, the U.S. Government entered into treaty agreements with the various Indian tribes, with the responsibility for health services delegated to the Department of War. Between 1832 and 1848, the same machinery used to search out and destroy Indians was also directed to deliver health services to them.

Between 1949 and 1954, all Indian affairs, including health services, were placed under the Department of the Interior. These years included the era of the great land conservationists, e.g., Teddy Roosevelt. As there was a conflict of interest within the Department of War centering around taking Indian lives in battle and saving Indian lives through the delivery of health services, there also was a conflict of interest within the Department of the Interior centering around saving lands for the Indians and taking lands for the white settlers.

Finally, in 1955, the responsibility for the delivery of health services to Indian people was assigned to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the Division of Public Health. There has been more positive health care delivered to Indian people within the past 10 years than during the preceding 150. Many variables, of course, contribute to present progress. However, in keeping with today's reawakening to personal responsibility and personal accountability of those in positions of leadership, due recognition must be given to the very positive and affirmative present leadership within the Indian Health Service (IHS) (primarily, Dr. Emery Johnson, Director, and Dr. Joseph Exendine, Executive Officer).

Although progress within the last 6 years has been phenomenal, individual or group effort by a relatively powerless few cannot hope to offset a century and a half of what was first planned, then accidental, genocide.

The United States' form of government, borrowed, in part, from the various American Indian governments, has proven itself to be the most successful form of governing in recorded history. It is successful because it represents and reflects the people it governs. The formal policies maintained by the U.S. Government toward Indian people have been varied and contradictory. From the moment the obligation of health care services for Indian people was incurred by the Federal Government there were pressures, on the one hand, to fulfill the obligation, and on the other hand, to ignore it. (This conflict is observable in the choice of the agency assigned to meet the obligation: the Department of War.) Today this paradox of meeting versus avoiding Government obligations is seen in the conflict over the improvement of Indian health services versus the promotion of programs, such as "relocation." Relocation is designed to move the Indian people away from their land base, family, community, and tribe. Whatever else "relocation" has accomplished, it has resulted in the weakening of family ties, loss of identity, and disruption of cultural patterns. While being alienated from their traditional cultural patterns, the majority of those "relocated" never completely assimilated into the white cultural patterns of the large metropolitan areas. For the most part, the relocated people were caught in the fringe areas of large cities, adopting such coping mechanisms as drug abuse, alcoholism, and minor crime. Once "relocated," the Indian can no longer obtain health care from the IHS. So while it is true that the Government has moved to meet its obligation by improving the IHS, it has, at the same time, moved to avoid its obligation by promoting "relocation."

This conflict (i.e., meeting versus avoiding obligations) is observable throughout American society and its representative government. During recent years, the legislative branch has introduced Indian health legislation, but the administration's Office of Management and Budget has attempted to block it. Advocates of strong health services for Indian people must be knowledgeable of all factors--social, physical, and mental. Informed advocacy can result in a comprehensive health care system. Without it the Government will terminate its efforts to meet obligations incurred through treaty and legislation.

In addition to treaty agreement, Indian rights to health care are secured under the authority of Federal statutes (JoJo Hunt). Of great importance to Indian rights to health care are the Snyder Act and the Johnson O'Malley Act. More recently, the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, 1976, restates the specific relationship between the Indian people and the Federal Government. This latter act is particularly important in that Indian rights to health care are enunciated more specifically.

INDIAN WOMEN AS HEALTH CARE DELIVERERS

The Need

In the discussion above, there is an obvious cultural gap between medical health concepts as defined by the Indian and white cultures. Until today, persons graduating from schools of nursing and medicine or other schools of health science have been prepared culturally and technically to deliver health care services within only a white cultural framework. Nurses, physicians, etc., have not been prepared or equipped to work among groups of people whose norms and values differ from that culture. *A Study of the Health Care Consumers and Health Care Deliverers Within the American Indian Community*, by Wood and Kekahbah (1972), documents and describes the conflicts between the white and Indian mores. Using indepth interviews, Wood and Kekahbah learned that more frequently than not the Indian consumer of health care viewed the white deliverer as uncaring, insensitive, and arrogant, or of "thinking they know better than you what's wrong with you." The white deliverer viewed the Indian consumer as being reticent or unable to describe his symptoms. Forty-four percent of the physicians believed that the Indian demanded too much of his physician's time and attention for minor illnesses. These physicians suggested that if Indians had to pay for their services they would be more appreciative and less demanding (Wood and Kekahbah, 1972). The question "What do Indians value?" was asked of 29 non-Indian deliverers and 60 Indian consumers. From the 29 deliverers, 29 different responses were tabulated: from the 60 consumers, 6 different responses were tabulated. The response of "no difference" was given 28 times by the deliverers, but only once by the consumers (Wood and Kekahbah, 1972). The point here is not whether one is right or wrong. The data strongly suggest both a great gap between how the consumer-deliverer relationship is viewed by those involved, and that this gap is based on cultural lines.

It is understood that deliverers and consumers of health services are both products of some (not necessarily the same) culture within our society. Cultural conditioning affects the individual's manner of relating to others. The divergence between the cultures of the deliverer and the consumer is likely to be wide when the deliverer is a product of the white culture and the consumer is from the Indian culture (Levine, 1971; Wood and Kekahbah, 1972; Wood, 1973). It is possible for this gap to be bridged by educating health professionals to practice in all cultures. Presently, this is not the case. The American Indian Nurses Association's survey of schools of nursing documents the lack of cultural relevancy incorporated in nursing curriculums. The number of hours of curriculum content spent in discussion of health of American Indian people is shown below:

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF CONTACT HOURS SPENT DISCUSSING THE HEALTH OF AMERICAN INDIAN PEOPLE

Number of hours	Number of schools
0	137
1-2	71
3-4	12
5-6	15

The lack of time given to health care of Indian people indicates that either schools of nursing believe that health care of Indian people is the same as health care of white people or schools of nursing do not think health care of Indian people is worth teaching. Either way they are wrong. Until schools of nursing, medicine, etc., teach more than health care of white people, it is up to the few Indian health professionals to combine knowledge of both cultures in an attempt to decrease the cultural gap of the present health care deliverer system.

American Indian women traditionally have played a great role in the health care of family, community, and tribe. Much of the day-to-day monitoring of the family's health has been accomplished by the Indian woman. Those concerns categorized today as maternal and child health, obstetrics, and gynecology traditionally were cared for by medicine women. The medicine woman, however, was not only responsible for concerns of women and children but also engaged in most activities dealing with health and illness.

The contemporary Indian woman is still viewed by the family as the monitor of day-to-day health. Although not to the exclusion of the men, many tribes define the woman's role as a deliverer of health care services. This is demonstrated by the large number of women employed by the various tribes as community health representatives and as appointed or elected tribal health representatives.

Indian Squaw--A Double Jeopardy

American Indian women have been subject to dual discrimination within the American society: the stereotypes and myths concerning American Indians per se, and the inequities found in the economic and educational systems involving women per se. The fact that society combines these two prejudices in such a way as to hold the *Indian woman* in less favor than either Indians or women in general can be seen in American society's word for Indian women, i.e., "squaw." The term "Indian squaw" is symbolic of the concept of a female creature something less than human, possibly something more than animal. In a series of children's reference books, for example, which recently has been carried by grocery store chains, there was a section picturing animals and their young; in that section were an Indian mother and child with the caption, "Indian squaw and papoose." Health care systems are institutions of a society; health care deliverers are products of a society. A society that teaches its children that Indian women and infants are subhuman can be assured that the health care delivery provided by future generations will be much different for Indian squaws and papooses from what it is for white women and their children.

If an Indian woman happens to be a health provider, she is viewed as less worthy of social status and financial remuneration than are white women health care providers. The notion that American Indian women health care providers are considered somehow less worthy than their white counterparts is seen not only in small rural areas and on Indian reservations but also as written into Federal job announcements by Government personnel departments and by the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

Indian women are engaged in all health professions and work in all sectors of the society. However, of all the professions, nursing has the greatest number of Indian women. Of all health delivery systems, the Indian Health Service employs the greatest number of Indian women.

In discussing Indian women as health care deliverers, the Indian Health Service will be used as a model for discussion. It must be remembered during this discussion that the IHS was not singled out as being typically restrictive of Indian women in the health careers. In fact, there are data that indicate that the IHS is less restrictive or prejudicial than other systems.

The nursing branch of the Indian Health Service is responsible for more health care personnel (2,500) than any other branch in the IHS. Up to this point in the long history of the Indian Health Service the chief nurse has been a non-Indian. In recent history, the chief of the nursing branch has been a commissioned officer at the four-stripe rank, which is equivalent to a GS-14, 15, or 16. This year, due to an increase in the number of qualified Indian nurses and because of the enforcement of Indian job preference, it is almost certain that an American Indian nurse will be awarded the position of chief nurse. It is at this precise moment in history that the Civil Service Commission has chosen to downgrade the position arbitrarily to a GS-13. It is not simply a matter of salary, but one of administrative structure and a test of Indian self-determination. It is easy to see the difficulty an Indian woman at the GS-13 level will encounter when she attempts to work on an equal basis with the chiefs of other departments, all of whom are GS-14 and above and are, for the most part, non-Indian males. This arbitrary act by the Civil Service Commission not only slaps at Indian self-determination but is directly in violation of the equal rights laws dealing with equal pay for women doing equal work. As a result of the size of the branch, the complexity of duty assignment, and the amount of responsibility, the chief of the nursing branch should be, at the very least, equal in GS rating to the other chiefs of departments.

Note also the gap between duty assignment and minimum qualification, as written by the personnel department, required for chief nurse. Although it is true that a minimum of a master's degree in nursing is listed as "desirable," the minimum educational qualification actually required by the Civil Service Commission is an associate degree in nursing--a difference of 2 years' training in a community college as opposed to 6 years of education within a university setting. Based on these guidelines, it is possible for the next chief of the nursing branch to be an American Indian nurse with 2 years of education and a GS rating of 13 attempting to provide supervision and leadership for non-Indian nurses with 6 years of education and GS ratings of 12 to 14. This is truly what is known among bureaucratic gamesters as "setting someone up for failure."

Nursing as a social institution has undergone much change in this country. In the beginning of this Nation's history, nursing functions were carried out by sensitive women considered to be "natural born nurses." In certain cases, younger women would read books on health and apprentice themselves to older, more experienced nurses much in the same manner as Abraham Lincoln attempted to learn law. Just as medicine, law, and other professions have become more formalized and complex, so has nursing. Because nursing has been considered a woman's profession, this society has been less aware of nursing's progressive development. The traditional role of the woman was in the home. The traditional role of the nurse was from the home to the hospital and back to the home. It is possible that the disdainfully unequal treatment of nurses by the Civil Service Commission is due to ignorance. But no matter what the etiology, the symptoms are the same. Whether the Civil Service Commission is ignorant or whether it is actually mobilizing to block Indian self-determination and equal pay for women, the result is the same. The Civil Service Commission's treatment of nurses, and more particularly Indian nurses, is discriminatory and prejudicial.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST AMERICAN INDIAN NURSES

Discrimination against American Indian nurses by the Civil Service Commission seems obvious in the arbitrary downgrading of the chief of the nursing branch position of the Indian Health Service.

The following comparisons document the Civil Service Commission's unequal treatment of Indian nurses as compared with non-Indian nurses:

1. The position of chief nurse was previously held by non-Indian nurses who were four-stripe rank (GS-14, 15, and 16). Her responsibility is as great or greater than before, but the GS rating has been downgraded to GS-13.

2. Area nurse officers in the Indian Health Service are structurally and administratively below the chief nurse. All area nurse officers are non-Indian. The GS rating ranges from GS-12 to 14.

3. Other nurse administrative positions with equal or less responsibility have higher GS ratings as shown in table 3, which provides the position descriptions for nurses with GS ratings of 13 or above.

TABLE 3

SAMPLE NURSING POSITION DESCRIPTIONS

Class title or position	Description of duties or responsibilities	GS rating
Chief, Nursing Services Branch	Incumbent assumes overall responsibility for the planning, development implementation, coordination, and evaluation of the nursing program designed to ensure adequate and efficient nursing services throughout the entire Indian health program. Provides guidance and consultation to area nursing personnel. Other responsibilities include policy and standards development and implementa-	GS-13

TABLE 3 (cont'd.)

	tion, recommending allocation of program funds, recruitment of nurses, providing guidance in conduct of nursing education programs for American Indians, serving as resource persons for Indian tribal governments and organizations, participating in PHS-wide nursing activities and on committees working in relation to Civil Service standards and practices, and maintaining liaison with other Federal agencies, national and State nursing organizations, and educational institutions (2,500 employees).	
Supervisory Nurse	The Clinical Center is a 500-bed hospital of the National Institutes of Health. It supports clinical investigations conducted by the various research institutes by providing patient care and other professional services. It conducts research in methods and techniques of hospital care in biomedical research and related fields. The Clinical Center is currently engaged in some 200 clinical studies involving 23 medical specialties and over 500 clinical research studies which evolve from 9 research institutes. Nursing is the largest department (approximately 920 employees) of the Clinical Center. It provides nursing services to research programs conducted in the Clinical Center and conducts research in clinical nursing care and nursing services administration.	GS-15
Supervisory Psychiatric Nurse	Under the general direction of the clinical director, serves as division chief nurse responsible for nursing services and practice for a clinical division on a 24-hour, 7-days-a-week basis. Clinical divisions serve residents and outpatients who have a variety of psychiatric disorders, often with medical disabilities, and who vary widely in age and treatment requirements. Multiple psychiatric techniques and concepts, including	GS-14

TABLE 3 (cont'd.)

	experimental approaches, may be in use.	
Associate Director for Nursing	Under the general direction of the superintendent, Saint Elizabeth's Hospital, incumbent serves as Associate Director for Nursing and as such is responsible for providing guidance and leadership in a staff capacity and within the work of psychiatric, medical, and administrative policies and procedures over the planning, development, implementation, coordination, review, and evaluation of all services, training, and research nursing programs to permit the hospital to fulfill effectively its patient treatment and care responsibilities.	GS-15

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE NURSING PROFESSION

Civil Service Commission discrimination against nurses is based on sex, i.e., it is discrimination against women. Nursing is traditionally and predominantly a woman's profession.

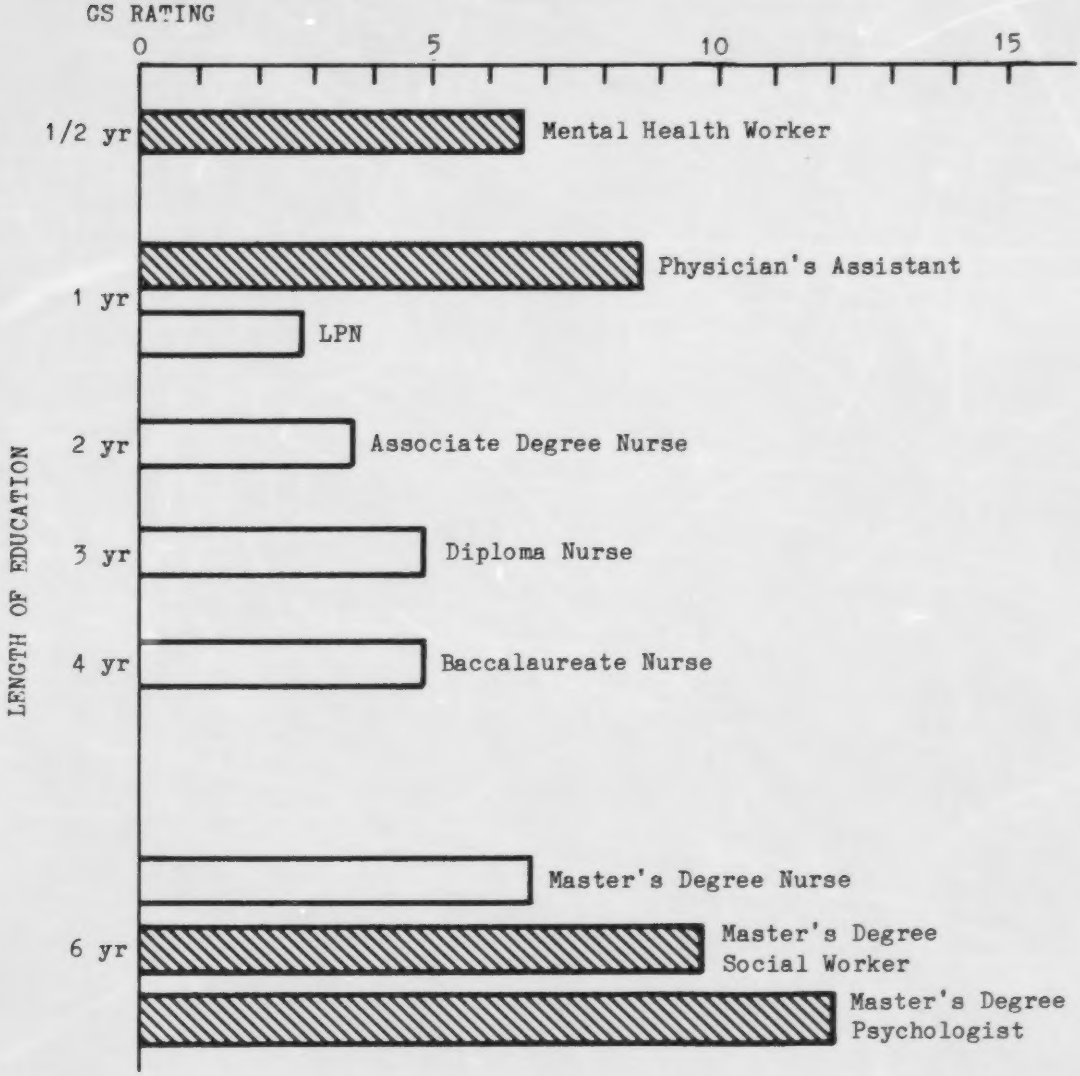
The figures show that GS ratings for nurses have been consistently and deliberately set lower than GS ratings for nonnurse health care workers. Figure 1 indicates that, although the licensed practical nurse (LPN) has more education (1 year) than the mental health worker (MHW--1/2year) and as much education as the physician's assistant (PA), the LPN enters the Indian Health Service at a much lower grade (GS-3) than either the MHW (GS-7) or the PA (GS-9).

What is even more irreconcilable, in the data shown in figure 1, is that registered nurses with 2, 3, and 4 years' education enter the IHS at lower GS levels than do the PA's with 1 year of education, i.e., an associate degree nurse with 2 years' education enters the IHS at GS-4; a bachelor's degree nurse with 4 years of college education enters at GS-5; and a PA with 1 year of education enters at the GS-9 level.

Figure 1 also shows discrimination against women in nursing, as compared with women in social work and psychology. Nurses with master's degrees (6 years' education) enter a staff position at GS-7; social workers with master's degrees enter at GS-10. Consistent with their theme of discrimination against women, the Civil Service Commission set the entering grade for master's-level personnel in psychology at GS-12; master's-level personnel in social work at GS-10; and master's-level personnel in nursing at GS-7.

FIGURE 1

PROFESSIONAL NURSES AND OTHER HEALTH CARE WORKERS IN IHS BY LENGTH OF EDUCATION AND GS RATING FOR BEGINNING STAFF POSITIONS



Thus, although the MHW has less education than the LPN, the MHW's GS rating is higher than nurses with bachelor's degrees, and although the PA has only the same amount of education as the LPN, the PA's GS rating is higher than all nurses except those with Ph. D. degrees. These data demonstrate that higher GS ratings are set by the Civil Service Commission for nonnursing professionals than for the nursing professionals. Since there are more women than men in nursing, and more men than women in the nonnursing categories, these data also suggest discrimination against women.

GS ratings for administrative positions supposedly are set by the Civil Service Commission according to amount of responsibility. Here, too, the Civil Service Commission has consistently, deliberately, and arbitrarily set nurse positions at a lower level than nonnurse positions, even where responsibility for the nurse is greater. Examples of unequal treatment of nurse administrative positions (as a woman's profession) as compared with nonnurse administrative positions are listed below:

1. In Claremore, Oklahoma, the administrator of social services is a social worker with a master's degree, supervises no employees, and has a rating of GS-12. The administrator of nursing service is a nurse with a master's degree, supervises 41 employees, and has a rating of GS-11. The director of nursing is responsible for 24-hour patient care 7 days a week. The social worker is responsible for 8-hour client services 5 days a week.

2. The chief nursing position of IHS has been assigned GS-13; the size of the branch is 2,500. The chief mental health position has been assigned GS-15; the size of that branch is 233.

3. The area nurse officer of the Oklahoma Area is a GS-13; the size of the Nursing Service Department in Oklahoma is 291. The area's mental health officer in the Oklahoma Area is a GS-14; the size of the Mental Health Department in Oklahoma is 25.

The examples listed above are by no means an exhaustive list of the incidences of unequal pay for nurses engaged in work of equal responsibility as nonnurses. The list goes on, and examples are found in virtually all levels of the Federal health care system. If discrimination against women is so pervasive within the Federal Government, where great efforts have been made to enforce equal rights laws, how much more prejudicial are the less monitored sectors of society?

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCHOOLS OF HEALTH

As stated earlier, there are more Indian women in the nursing profession than in other health fields. However, compared with the number of non-Indian women in nursing, Indian women are almost invisible. There are only about 500, possibly more, American Indian nurses.

The American Indian Nurses Association surveyed all accredited schools of nursing in the western States. Size of student enrollment varied (see table 4).

TABLE 4

SIZE OF STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN WESTERN NURSING SCHOOLS

Number of students	Number of schools
20 - 100	82
101 - 200	96
201 - 300	31
301 - 400	20
401 - 500	8
501 - over	16

Of the 484 questionnaires sent, 253 were returned. However, not all schools provided information on all items. There were schools reporting on all items, and others reporting only certain data, e.g., 240 schools indicated the type of nursing program offered; 253 reported the size of the student enrollment, and 213 noted the number of male students. Of the 253 schools responding, only 99 referred to the question dealing with numbers of American Indian students. It is possible that the 154 schools receiving and responding to other items, but not to the item dealing with the number of Indian students, for some reason did not believe that the question was worth answering or did not think those data were worth keeping.

The number of schools reporting an Indian student enrollment is shown in table 5.

TABLE 5

SIZE OF INDIAN STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN NURSING SCHOOLS

Number of Indian students	Number of schools
1	37
2	25
3	11
4 - 6	11
7 - 14	8
15 - 24	7

There could, therefore, be no more than 464 and no less than 325 American Indian students. The nursing profession now considers males a minority. Consider the non-Indian male as a minority in those schools surveyed with the American Indian as a minority. The largest possible number of American Indian nurses is 464, and the smallest possible number of non-Indian male nurses is 2,752. It is evident that the American Indian has to be the smaller minority.

According to the survey, the sizes of the nursing faculties were found as shown in table 6.

TABLE 6

SIZE OF NURSING FACULTIES

Number of faculty	Number of schools
1 - 10	107
11 - 20	75
21 - 30	30
31 - 40	16
41 - 50	6
51 - 70	7
71 -	9

There were 107 schools reporting 10 or fewer faculty members, and 9 schools reporting 71 or more. Within these same departments, the size of the American Indian faculty was as shown in table 7.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF INDIANS ON NURSING FACULTIES

Number of Indian faculty	Number of schools
1	14
2	1

Thus, there were 16 American Indian faculty members in the nursing schools surveyed. Among those schools there was only one American Indian male faculty member reported. However, since not all schools answered all questions, these data are not always consistent.

The need for Indian women in the health careers was discussed earlier. Of all health professions, nursing has the most Indian women. Yet, compared with the total number of nurses, Indian women are underrepresented. Because Indian women are also underrepresented in schools of nursing, the shortage of American Indian women in the nursing profession will remain a major problem for years to come.

PRESENT HEALTH STATUS

Since the transfer of the Indian Health Service to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1955, health services for Indian people and the health status of Indian people have progressed steadily.

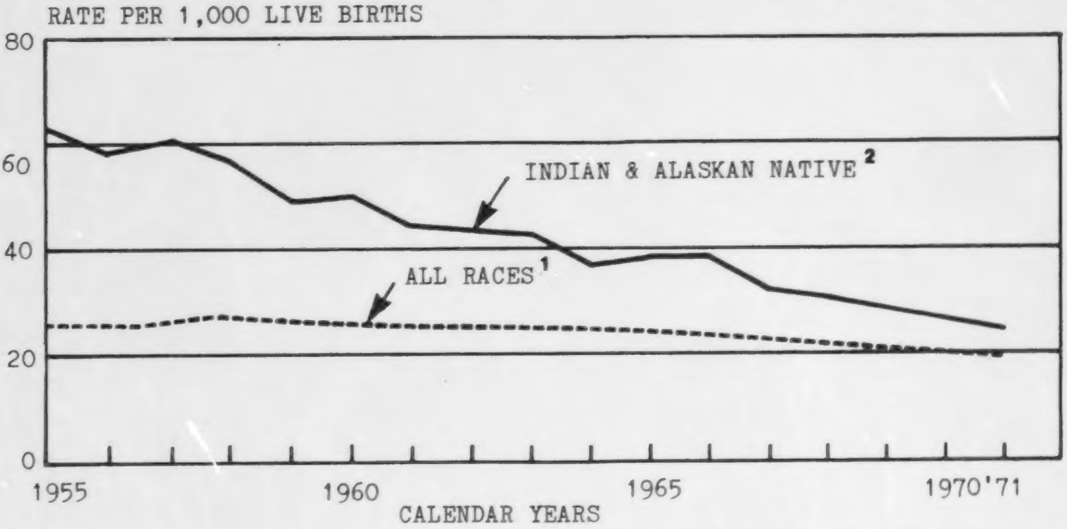
The American Indian population is growing. According to 1974 statistics from the IHS, the Indian population is a young one, and 14 and 16 percent are below the 5-9 years of age group. Moreover, the percentage of Indian and Alaskan Native registered births occurring in hospitals has increased substantially since 1955, particularly among Alaskan Natives. The percentage of live births in hospitals in Alaska still falls below that of Indian and U.S. all races categories (IHS, 1974). This indicates that either Indian women are finding hospitals more acceptable for use at the time of confinement or that there are more hospitals available and accessible to women. There are other data that suggest that while both variables are influential, Indian women are definitely more likely to seek IHS services than in previous years.

As shown in figure 2, there also has been a decrease in the infant death rate since 1955. In 1955 there were over 60 deaths per 1,000 live births among Indians, compared with approximately 28 infant deaths per 1,000 live births among the general population. By 1971, while the infant death rate remained higher for Indian and Alaskan Natives than for all races, the gap had closed considerably. There are other visible indicators of improved health status. There has been a decrease in death rates due to tuberculosis, from 160 per 100,000 in 1955 for Alaskan Natives, and 50 per 100,000 for American Indians to under 30 per 100,000 for both groups by 1971. Indian and Alaskan Native death rates due to gastroenteritis also decreased substantially, from 40 per 100,000 in 1955 to fewer than 10 per 100,000 in 1971.

FIGURE 2

INFANT DEATH RATES

INDIAN AND ALASKA NATIVE AND U.S. ALL RACES



[1] PROVISIONAL, MONTHLY VITAL STATISTIC REPORTS, NCHS VOL. 20, NO. 12 1970, 1971.

[2] ESTIMATED 1969, 1970.

Despite this progress, the health status of Indian people remains far below that of the Nation as a whole. Although the infant death rate, for example, has decreased substantially, it has done so only for the first few weeks following birth. While the infant death rate for Indians and Alaskan Natives is as low or lower than that for all races, that trend is only valid through the first 27 days of life. The infant death rate for Indians and Alaskan Natives more than doubles that for all races between 28 days and 11 months of life.

The Indian population is a young population, which can be partially accounted for by the number of live births; however, the Indian population is also young because the average life expectancy is 55 years of age. On reservations the life expectancy is 47 years. Table 8 shows that Indians have a higher death rate at all ages than do all races up to age 65, where they become almost equal. After age 70 the death rate for Indian people is less than that for all races because there are just not very many Indians left after age 70. Indian death rates due to accidents, uncontrolled diabetes, homicide, and suicide are much higher than those for all races. Deaths due to suicide are 3.1 times that of the national average. Within the American Indian community, deaths due to suicide peak between the ages of 12 and 24, whereas in the white population, they do not begin to peak until after age 55. These data document the many health needs within the Indian community.

TABLE 8

AGE-SPECIFIC DEATH RATES--1971
(rates per 1,000 population)

Age	Indian and Alaska Native	All Races	U.S.[1] White	All other
Under 1	32.6	18.6	16.3	29.3
1 - 4	1.9	0.8	0.7	1.2
5 - 14	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.5
15 - 24	3.8	1.3	1.1	2.0
25 - 34	5.8	1.6	1.3	3.7
35 - 44	8.3	3.1	2.6	6.7
45 - 54	11.9	7.0	6.4	12.6
55 - 59	16.7	12.8	12.2	18.5
60 - 64	19.7	20.1	19.1	30.5
65 - 69	25.4	29.4	28.1	43.0
70 - 74	43.0	44.4	42.7	68.0
75 - 79	50.8	65.7	65.5	67.8
80 - 84	86.3	96.1	97.8	76.6
85+	122.2	175.5	186.4	91.9

[1] Based on 10 percent sample of deaths, Monthly Vital Statistics Report, Vol. 20, No. 13.

TABLE 9

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INDIAN AND ALASKAN NATIVE DEATHS BY RESERVATION STATE

	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960
Total U.S.	5,951		5,579	5,530	5,106	5,265	5,064	4,961	5,168	4,930	4,726	4,817
24 Res. States	5,572		5,153	5,092	4,776	4,920	4,714	4,645	4,868	4,645	4,457	4,534
Alaska	430		377	382	395	473	430	446	430	424	422	389
Arizona	963		832	867	787	829	761	742	864	775	745	757
California	333		321	280	324	317	318	280	296	286	296	304
Colorado	38	N	44	54	32	28	34	26	22	27	30	30
Florida	15	O	14	15	15	10	15	12	17	15	17	19
Idaho	76	T	71	69	63	71	75	57	67	66	58	54
Iowa	19		13	23	16	21	14	8	10	15	17	16
Kansas	48		39	43	26	23	22	23	27	25	27	21
Michigan	117	A	117	121	91	82	79	80	84	79	70	77
Minnesota	188	V	126	142	179	163	136	130	135	139	145	141
Mississippi	32	A	23	34	34	35	27	20	21	31	30	25
Montana	304	I	246	240	253	309	245	291	272	229	242	206
Nebraska	65	L	90	76	70	76	69	44	62	68	72	61
Nevada	73	A	77	63	76	68	78	80	75	73	69	68
New Mexico	632	B	538	520	531	534	503	498	488	412	386	444
North Carolina	295	L	318	280	308	281	261	236	295	268	240	263
North Dakota	142	E	144	121	107	112	125	121	122	120	125	104
Oklahoma	746		649	660	578	546	580	597	615	598	562	596
Oregon	95		90	84	73	93	86	98	105	123	100	97
South Dakota	397		371	368	313	366	332	346	328	333	319	364
Utah	56		62	76	57	51	71	58	54	60	67	64
Washington	309		363	369	293	270	262	263	269	282	249	271
Wisconsin	167		164	160	118	130	129	146	168	166	124	113
Wyoming	32		64	45	37	32	62	43	42	31	38	43

[1] Includes data for South Carolina

Table 9 displays Indian and Alaskan Native deaths by reservation State for 1960 through 1971. The three highest numbers of deaths in 1971 were found in Arizona (963), Oklahoma (746), and New Mexico (632). The States with the lowest number of Indian deaths were Florida (15) and Mississippi and Wyoming (32 each). These are crude death rates and, therefore, are somewhat governed by total number of Indians per State.

Many Indian deaths due to homicides are said to be "in-group homicide" and are another version of suicide (Fahnon). These data are indicators of a high incidence of mental illness within the Indian community. Of all types of ill health, mental illness is the least understood in both Indian and non-Indian groups. Mental illness among Indian people has received less attention, money, and research than mental illnesses among the general population.

HEALTH PROBLEMS PECULIAR TO INDIAN WOMEN

Health problems facing American Indian women are inseparable from those confronting the Indian family and the tribe of which she is an intricate part. The Indian woman has been exposed to ancient diseases imported from Europe for which she was culturally and physically unprepared. Indian women have been subject to white colonization, which has disrupted their traditional lifestyle but which has failed to provide viable alternatives.

There are health problems peculiar to American Indian women. However, scientific investigation and documentation is pitifully lacking due to the low priority placed on problems of Indian women by scientists and by those private and Federal funding agencies that stimulate and support such investigations.

The professional journals in nursing and medicine demonstrate a low interest in problems of Indian women. The only journal article that this writer was able to locate dealing with health problems specific to Indian women is "Approaches to Caring for the American Indian Maternity Patient," by Lorene Farris (1976). (Farris is one of the 25 Indian nurses with a master's degree.) In her article, Farris reflects that the 1974 U.S. Senate Report on Indian Health gives the maternal death rate for Indians as 33.9 per 100,000 live births, as compared with 19.5 for whites. Farris notes:

> A major health problem--one that may have direct bearing on the maternal mortality rate--is the nutritional status of the Indian patient and her family . . . . In a study of an area with an Indian population of 808 . . . [there were found] 19 women who were either lactating or pregnant or both--five of them had palpable enlarged thyroids; eight had local diffuse marginal redness of the tongue; four had red swollen gum papillae; one woman had bleeding gums; and one had filiform atrophy of the tongue (Farris, 1976).

According to Farris, "practically all of these conditions are related in some way to lack of good nutrition." Farris also cites the high incidence of diabetes mellitus as contributing to the overall morbidity and mortality for the pregnant Indian woman. Also, according to Farris, obesity is "related to this condition but not always present simultaneously." These nutritional problems are related to economy and cultural preference. "If one looks at the average annual income of a family of five on an Indian reservation, which is under $2,500, and then at the $131.24 cost per month of a nutritionally adequate diet for that same family of five, it is obvious that the family is not disinterested or exhibiting poor management but that they need more income" (Farris, 1976).

CONCLUSIONS

This paper discussed holistically the health problems facing American Indian women, with consideration given to the cultural, physical, and psychosocial aspects of the human condition. In studying any health problem, both need and resources must be considered. For American Indian people the needs are great, and the present resources are few. Potential resources, however, are far from lacking: the Indian people themselves are that resource.

Recommendations for research in the area of health care are given below:

1. Indian preference has been set forth as policy in the Indian Health Service. The various tribal and organizational groups have endorsed and recommended implementation. However, implementation has not been forthcoming. I, therefore, recommend that:

    - Barriers to actualization of Indian preference be investigated and documented.

    - The extent to which Indian preference is or is not being followed be investigated.

    - Case studies be conducted to describe how the policy of Indian preference has been circumvented.

    - Occupational assistance centers be set up to help assure preference for Indians.

2. Develop and demonstrate schools of health science wherein Western and Indian health concepts are considered equally.

3. Investigate the effects of attempts of forced assimilation on the "mental health" of Indians.

While the focus of this paper is on health in general, including both mental and physical health, mental health is extremely important and needs to be discussed. Different papers need to be commissioned for the following: (1) chronic health problems that are epidemiologically and clinically different for Indians than for Whites: diabetes, hypertension, arthritis, etc.; and (2) infectious diseases that are still devastating the Indian population, while being virtually eradicated within the white population, e.g., tuberculosis, otitis media, etc.

[Bibliography not available at time of publication.]

AMERICAN INDIAN CHILDREN: FOSTER CARE AND ADOPTIONS

Tillie Walker

> If the Great Spirit had desired me to be a white man, he would have made me so in the first place. He put in your heart certain wishes and plans; in my heart he put other and different desires. Each man is good in his sight. It is not necessary for eagles to be crows.
>
> Sitting Bull, 1883

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

One of the few consistent aspects of United States policy toward American Indian tribes has been to remove Indian children from their natural parents at an early age, first in the interests of "civilizing" them, and later in order to "assimilate" them into the non-Indian culture, a closely related goal.[1] Even today the proportion of Indian children who are removed from their homes to be placed in Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding schools,[2] dormitories and boarding homes,[3] in the Mormon Indian Student Placement Program,[4] in foster care placements,[5] and for adoption by non-Indian families far from their original homes[6] greatly exceeds the proportion of non-Indian children removed from their homes.

In 1974, the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs held hearings on Indian child welfare. In his opening remarks, the Chairman, Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota, said:

> It appears that for decades Indian parents and their children have been at the mercy of arbitrary or abusive action of local, state, federal, and private agency officials. Unwarranted removal of children from their homes is common in Indian communities. Recent statistics show, for example, that a minimum of 25 percent of all Indian children are either in foster homes, adoptive homes, and/or boarding schools, against the best interest of families, tribes, and Indian communities. Whereas most non-Indian communities can expect to have children out of their natural homes in foster or adoptive homes at a rate of 1 in every 51 children, Indian communities know that their children will be removed at rates varying from 5 to 25 times higher than that.

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> Because of poverty and discrimination Indian families face many difficulties, but there is no reason or justification for believing that these problems make Indian parents unfit to raise their children; nor is there any reason to believe that the Indian community itself cannot, within its own confines, deal with problems of child neglect when they do arise. Up to now, however, public and private welfare agencies seem to have operated on the premise that most Indian children would really be better off growing up non-Indian. The results of such policies has been unchecked, abusive child-removal practices, the lack of viable, practical rehabilitation and prevention program for Indian families facing severe problems, and a practice of ignoring the all-important demands of Indian tribes to have a say in how their children and families are dealt with. Officials would seemingly rather place Indian children in non-Indian settings where their Indian culture, their Indian traditions and, in general, their entire Indian way of life is smothered. The federal government for its part has been conspicuous by its lack of action. It has chosen to allow these agencies to strike at the heart of Indian communities by literally stealing Indian children, a course which can only weaken rather than strengthen the Indian child, the family and the community. This, at a time when the federal government purports to be working to help strengthen Indian communities. It has been called cultural genocide . . . .[7]

BACKGROUND

American Indian tribes have a unique status in the United States and differ from other racial and ethnic minorities by virtue of the special relationship which exists between Indian tribes and the U.S. Government. This relationship is based on formal treaties between Indian tribes and the United States (in accordance with provisions of the U.S. Constitution, court decisions, and Federal law) or with European nations even before the organization of the Federal Government. Article I of the Constitution gives the U.S. Congress the specific charge "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." Article II concerns treaty making with the Indian tribes and allows the Federal Government, not the States, to be "the ultimate arbiter" of the legal status of the Indian tribes.[8] The United States Supreme Court, in two important decisions, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia*, defined the broad principle of Federal, State, and tribal governmental authority. In *Cherokee v. Georgia*, the court defined the legal and governmental status of the Cherokee nation by calling it a "domestic dependent nation."[9] In *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Supreme Court established the principle of Federal plenary power over the regulation of Indian affairs, and Georgia State laws regulating residence of non-Indian persons on tribal lands were held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Indian sovereignty was defined by Chief Justice Marshall in this case:

> The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil, from time immemorial, with the single exception of that imposed by irresistible power, which excluded them from intercourse with any other European potentate than the first discoverer of the coast of the particular region claimed. . . . The settled doctrine of the law of nations is that a weaker power does not surrender its independence--its right to self government--by associating with a stronger, and taking its protection. . . .[10]
>
> The Cherokee nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia have no right to enter, but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves, or in conformity with treaties, and with the acts of Congress. . . .[11]

Federal policy toward Indian tribes has been erratic and constantly changing since the early years of the United States. Until 1871, when the treaty-making period ended by act of Congress, the Congress dealt with tribes primarily through treaties designed to move the tribes westward. Early policies of separatism and removal of Indian tribes from lands desired by non-Indian settlers gave way to the establishment of reservations, individual allotment of Indian lands, and forced "assimilation" into non-Indian culture. At predictable intervals, the Federal policy has emphasized self-government and self-determination. Throughout this historical process, Indian tribes have suffered a destruction of their cultures, as well as loss of lands from which they were expected to make a livelihood.[12]

Throughout this history, federally recognized tribes have retained many of the attributes of sovereignty, and their legal status most closely resembles that of the individual States. Tribes have the right to adopt a form of government, define their memberships, regulate domestic relations of their members, tax their members, develop laws to control the conduct of their tribal members, and, more recently, to enact laws to regulate the conduct of non-Indians while they are on reservations.[13] It is necessary to understand the status of Indian tribes in the United States to understand the problems of foster care and adoption of Indian children.

STATUS OF REGULATIONS GOVERNING FOSTER CARE AND ADOPTIONS OF INDIAN CHILDREN

Because of the unique sovereign status of Indian tribes, similar to that of individual States, difficult problems have arisen in providing child welfare services to Indian children and their families living on reservations.

In the early 1950's, there was a shift away from an earlier policy of self-determination and the strengthening of tribal government. The mood of the Congress then favored eliminating the special status of Indian tribes; the result was the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 108:

> Whereas it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship. . . .[14]

Congress then passed 12 acts (1954 to 1962) "terminating" the relationship between specified federally recognized tribes and the Federal Government. As part of the "termination" policy, Congress passed P.L. 280, which gave specific States the authority to assume criminal and civil jurisdiction on reservations without consultation with the Indian tribes affected, and authorized other States to assume jurisdiction on Indian lands without consent of the tribes.

In Alaska, California, Florida, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin, the States currently exert criminal and civil jurisdiction over Indian reservations within their borders (except for Red Lake in Minnesota, Warm Springs in Oregon, and Menominee in Wisconsin).[15] In addition, the Omaha Tribe in Nebraska retroceded recently. Upon tribal request, Nevada has retroceded jurisdiction over certain Indian lands. On the only Indian reservation in North Carolina, the Cherokee reservation, there is concurrent State and Federal jurisdiction. In Arizona, Colorado, Michigan, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming, the States exercise little or no criminal or civil jurisdiction over federally recognized reservations.[16]

The Social Security Act stipulates that services funded under that authority be provided by a single State agency on a statewide basis. This provision conflicts both with the rights of tribes in States not affected by P.L. 280 and with the position of many States that, because Indians do not pay State taxes on reservation real estate and property (the only taxes from which Indians are exempt), States are not required to provide them with the State services financed in whole or in part from State taxes. A good example of this issue is Black Wolf v. District Court,[17] a 1972 Montana Supreme Court decision, which held that State courts cannot commit reservation youth to institutions for delinquent youth, even at the request of tribal courts, because States lack jurisdiction over reservations. On issuance of the Black Wolf decision, the State of Montana released all reservation youths then in State institutions because there was no legal basis for continued involuntary commitment. The State passed legislation in July 1975 allowing tribal courts to place reservation delinquents in State institutions, but there is no provision for payment by the State, as there would be with other citizens, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs is required to pay for commitments.

Custody of children who may be in need of protective services is another ambiguous area. The Bureau of Indian Affairs does not have the authority to accept custody of children, although it conducts studies of the home. The authority of tribal courts to assert custody over children in need of protective services is sometimes not clear. In recent years, tribes have begun revising their codes to include child welfare provisions and passing resolutions to assure that States and counties cannot remove their children from the reservations; in addition, tribes have attempted to contact social service agencies in urban areas nearby so that children found abandoned or removed from Indian homes by State or county courts can be returned to the reservations. Some tribes have contracted with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to develop their own social services programs, and there is mounting support for direct funding to tribes of title XX programs under the Social Security Act. Title XX programs currently are funded by the Federal Government directly to "single State agencies" to deliver social services to all State citizens; but tribes find that they are excluded from the planning and often from the receipt of services.

A Legislative Council report issued in North Dakota made the following observation on the jurisdictional conflicts involved in providing social services to reservation residents:

> In order to participate under federal law and receive federal reimbursement in our welfare programs, the State and its political subdivisions must offer the categorical programs such as Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Totally and Permanently Disabled, Aid to Dependent Children, et cetera, to all citizens of the State, which, of course, includes reservation residents. Yet, without civil jurisdiction, the State and counties really have no right to send their welfare personnel to the reservations to police the welfare programs. This results in many abuses of welfare programs over which the State has no control. For instance, under the Aid to Dependent Children program, the State is required to provide payments in proper cases to the mother of illegitimate children. Normally, it would be possible for the State to insist that actions be brought to determine the parentage of the children and possibly require support from the father if he is able to support them. On the reservation there is no court in which the State can be the moving part to have such parentage determined or to enforce the obligations of a father to support his children. Under such a program, in the event the mother does not properly care for her children but uses the money for other purposes, with the children being left neglected or destitute, the welfare agencies of the State can take little action. It is very doubtful that they can legally place the children in foster homes or arrange for their adoption since the courts of the State probably have no jurisdiction to handle these cases. . . .[18]

The BIA Social Services Manual gives the following as an explanation for not providing adoption services:

> While the Bureau of Indian Affairs exercises certain controls over Indian trust land and may provide protections for income accruing to certain Indian persons, the Bureau is not constituted to exercise powers of guardianship of the person or to be vested

> with the custody of a child. The Bureau, as any federal administrative agency, must look to the court of jurisdiction responsible for protecting the child when his parents do not exercise their natural guardianship or do so ineffectively, or when his legal guardian does not exercise his office or does so ineffectively. Such protections are sought from tribal or state courts. . . .[19]

Because the BIA cannot accept custody of children, it has contracted with various States to provide protective services to Indian children living on reservations. The States which have contracts--Arizona, North Dakota, South Dakota, North Carolina, Nevada, New Mexico, and Minnesota--are reimbursed by the BIA for foster care payments for reservation Indian children not eligible for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In addition to the State contracts, the BIA has contracted with the All Indian Pueblo Council, New Mexico, and the Nevada Intertribal Council to provide child welfare services to tribal groups in their constituencies. In Minnesota, a BIA contract was awarded to the Minnesota Chippewa Tribes, and the State contract is being phased out on a gradual basis. Since Minnesota is a State affected by P.L. 280, except for Red Lake Reservation, the State accepts responsibility for providing child welfare services on reservations. The BIA contract gives the Minnesota Chippewa Tribes an opportunity to develop social services in areas of special need to supplement the services provided by the State.[20]

A recent study, Legal and Jurisdictional Problems in the Delivery of SRS Child Welfare Services on Indian Reservations, provides the following analysis of the current status of child welfare services on Indian reservations:

> Social and Rehabilitation Service (SRS) programs are federal-state programs; authority for administering the delivery of SRS services clearly lies with states and their local political instrumentalities, counties. However, on many reservations the authority of state governments and the jurisdiction of state law are strictly limited or nonexistent. The Constitution, numerous court decisions, and federal law clearly reserve to Indian tribes important powers of self-government, including the authority to make and enforce laws, to adjudicate civil and criminal disputes including domestic relations cases, to tax, and to license.
>
> SRS legislation generally requires its programs to be administered on a statewide basis. Some states, however, have taken the position that because of their limited jurisdiction on reservations, it is not possible to operate certain SRS programs on reservations in exactly the same fashion as elsewhere in the state.
>
> There is a long history of struggle between tribal governments and state governments over a broad range of issues, including legal jurisdiction, water and mineral rights, and powers of

> taxation. This tension between tribes and state governments spills over into matters concerning the administration of SRS-funded programs on reservations.
>
> An additional complicating factor is that the social service and financial assistance programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) are similar to some SRS programs. Although BIA and SRS policy both recognize that BIA programs are intended to supplement rather than to replace SRS programs, the application of this principle at the state and local level is not always easy.
>
> Because of these factors, legal and jurisdictional issues often hinder the administration and delivery of SRS services on reservations. Field research on ten reservations in eight states disclosed complex interagency relationships and patterns of service delivery. Three major recurrent legal and jurisdictional problems were uncovered: (1) conflicting legal interpretations about the roles and responsibilities of state or county offices in providing certain SRS services on reservations; (2) state rulings that the state cannot license facilities on reservations; and (3) reluctance of some state courts and state institutions to honor tribal court orders . . . .[21]

Table 1 provides information on the child welfare services actually being provided on Indian reservations by child welfare departments of 11 States.[22]

TABLE 1

STATE CHILD WELFARE DEPARTMENTS: ADOPTIONS AND FOSTER CARE CASELOADS

State	Services	Number of Indian cases (State figures)	Indian cases % of total caseload	Year of State estimate
Alaska	Adoption	25	48.0	1974
California	Adoption	17	6.4	1975
	Foster family care	353	1.2	1975
Illinois	Adoption	18	1.3	1974
	Foster family care	69	0.6	1974

TABLE 1 (cont.)

Minnesota	Adoption decrees	83		2.6	1974
	Adoption placements	56		4.1	1974
	Children committed to State guardianship	24	Ind.	8.1	
		8	part Ind.	2.7	1974
	Children under State guardianship	295	Ind.	13.6	6/1975
		291	part Ind.	11.6	
	Foster family care	733		13.3	
North Dakota	Adoption	13		6.8	1974
	Foster family care & group home care	257		35.3	1974
Oklahoma	Adoption	41		13.3	1974
	Foster family care	180		12.0	
Oregon	Adoption	5		2.1	1974
	Foster family care	84		2.1	1974
South Dakota	Adoption	88		56.1	1974
	Foster family care	496		84.4	1974
Washington	Adoption	23		8.7	1974
	Foster family care	503		8.7	10/1975
Wisconsin	Adoptive placements	42		8.2	1970
	Children under custody of Div. of Family Serv.	288		11.5	2/1972
	Foster care-boarding homes	163		14.0	12/1972
	Foster care-group homes	10		9.1	12/1972
Wyoming	Adoption	1		1.2	1974
	Foster family care	17		3.0	1974

According to a survey conducted by the Center for Social Research and Development of the University of Denver,[23] the following foster care and adoption services are provided by the various BIA area offices:

Aberdeen: adoption services minimal; foster family care, group home services.

Albuquerque: no adoption services; foster famliy care and group home services.

Anadarko: no foster care or adoption services; arrange BIA boarding school placements like all area offices.

Billings: minimal adoption services; foster family care and group home services.

Eastern Area: no adoption services; foster family care and group home services provided.

Juneau: no adoption services or group home services; foster family care services provided.

Minneapolis: no adoption services or group home services; foster family care services provided.

Muskogee: no foster care or adoption services; arrange BIA boarding school placements.

Navajo: adoption services and home studies at request of tribal court; foster family care and group home services provided.

Phoenix: adoption services; foster family care and minimal group home services provided.

Sacramento: no response to survey.

Table 2 gives the BIA foster care caseloads and expenditures by BIA area.[24]

The current BIA budget for social services is more than $71 million in FY 77. In FY 76, the General Assistance budget request was for $49,573,000 to serve 68,000 individuals; the Child Welfare budget request was for $7,776,000 to serve 3,200 children in foster care, group homes, and other institutions.[25]

Impact on Indian Communities

Removal of Indian children from their parents and communities early in their lives has been a major component of Federal Indian policy from the beginning of the reservation period. The charter of the first boarding school on the Navajo reservation, established in the 1890's, stated that a purpose of the school was to remove the Navajo child from the influence of his "savage" parents. Early reference to adoption was made in a five-point policy established by Superintendent Edward R. Geary in 1859 for reservation Indians in Oregon and Washington:

> The agent should be permitted to find homes in suitable white families for neglected Indian orphans.
>
> Industrial boarding schools should be established "where habits of cleanliness, punctuality, and order should be carefully cultivated."[26]

TABLE 2

BIA FOSTER CARE CASELOADS AND EXPENDITURES

BIA area	Foster care caseload	Total expenditures
Aberdeen (So. Dak., No. Dak., Neb.)	441	$647,806
Albuquerque (N.M., Colo., except for Navajo)	167	210,318
Anadarko (western Okla.)	no services provided	
Billings (Mont., Wyo.)	281	289,916
Eastern Area (No. Car., Fla., N.Y.)	87	134,674
Juneau (Alaska)	55	121,581
Minneapolis (Minn., Wisc., Mich., Iowa)	24	66,476
Muskogee (eastern Okla.)	no services provided	
Navajo (Navajo reservation)	93	102,681
Phoenix (Ariz., Nev., except for Navajo)	345	545,363
Portland (Ore., Wash., Idaho)	no services provided	
Sacramento (Calif.)	no services provided	

The system of Federal boarding schools began during the allotment period and was developed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in response to public opposition to Federal support of sectarian schools for Indian children. As the experiment of placing Indian children at Hampton Institute in Virginia (originally established for blacks) was considered a success, the first Indian boarding school, Carlisle, was established in 1879. These schools, usually housed in old army barracks, were assimilationist. Children were removed long distances from their homes, their native tongues and customs were forbidden at the schools, and strict military discipline was enforced. Boarding schools have continued to function until the present, with relatively minor policy changes, although a smaller percentage of Indian students currently are educated in them. Children are often placed in boarding schools for "social reasons," such as their parents' inability to care for them or a history of juvenile offenses.[27]

Recent research on the effects of placements of Indian children away from their homes and the adoption of Indian children by non-Indian families suggests that the concerns of officials responsible for removing Indian children from their families and the motivations of non-Indian adoptive families have not changed since the early reservation period. The author's preface to a study of Alaskan Native children placed in foster homes and dormitories to attend, through the Regional School and Boarding Home Program, consolidated public high schools far from their village homes is an excellent example of the gap between the initial expectations of the non-Indian professional and the experience of the Native Alaskan children:

> When I began this study three years ago, it was not my intention to show that boarding home programs and regional high schools were helping to destroy a generation of village children. Quite the contrary, I believed that the serious problems of rural secondary education were due in large part to bad matches between particular types of village students and particular types of high schools. Originally, I designed this study to explore ways of placing village students with different educational needs in the most appropriate type of secondary school environment. I was highly skeptical of the village high school alternative because I questioned whether village high schools could provide an excellent education.
>
> But as I saw what actually happened to the 1971-72 class of village students who entered the three representative high school programs studied, I was compelled to give up these initial views. In all of these programs, the majority of village children were developing serious social and emotional problems as a result of their high school experiences. Our follow-up study of graduates from these school programs suggested that, in many cases, the school experience had left these students with a set of self-defeating ways for dealing with the world.
>
> The problems of rural secondary education cannot be blamed on particular individuals or on particular inadequacies such as

> irrelevant curriculum or insufficient staff. The staff of the state's Division of Regional Schools and Boarding Home Program were in almost every case exceptionally concerned and hardworking people. The problems of rural secondary education are caused by the structure of the educational system as a whole. Certainly, some improvements can be made through such changes as increased local control and more school staff. But these types of changes will not end the damage done to village children, because the damage is done primarily through a total system which separates children from their families at a critical developmental period and places them in unhealthy environments for growing up.
>
> . . . In every school, there was always a number of exceptional individuals who managed to resist the disintegrating pressures of the environment and emerged strong and competent. This study attempts to show just why the negative pressures of these secondary school environments are so strong that it requires an exceptional individual to resist them.[28]

Denominational groups (e.g., Episcopal, Catholic, and Methodist) have continued to provide mission boarding schools for Indian children. The most extensive denominational program which removed Indian children from their homes is the Indian Student Placement Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints (LDS). Through foster placement of Indian children in the homes of Mormon Church members, the program provides public school education in a family and community setting which is predominantly non-Indian and reinforces the teachings of the church. The program began in 1954-55 with the placement of approximately 68 students. It reached its peak in 1970-71 with 4,997 Indian students placed in the program and in 1975-76 with 2,302 students. The students represent at least 50 different tribal communities in the United States and Canada, with an overwhelming majority of the students from the Navajo Reservation. In any given year, the LDS program accepts only 40 percent of the applicants. To be eligible, a student must be at least 8 years old, a church member, and must be "in good physical and mental health and show evidence of educational achievement which would qualify [the student] to compete in a non-Indian setting."[29] In the milieu of foster homes and community life emphasizing religious beliefs and non-Indian values and standards of living, the students learn how to compete successfully in non-Indian society.[30]

Since 1958, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has contracted with the Child Welfare League of America to operate an interstate adoption exchange for Indian children. During its history, this project has assisted in the adoption of approximately 700 American Indian children. During the first 10 years of the project, the overwhelming majority of the children were placed with non-Indian families on the east coast or in the midwestern States of Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri. Although the policies have been changing in recent years, statistics indicate that between 1968 and 1975 some 90 percent of the Indian children who were adopted were still placed with non-Indian families. In 1974, ARENA placed 120 Indian children.[31] Fourteen of the children were placed in Indian homes; of the 120 Indian children placed for adoption, 106 were Canadian Indians. Arnold Lyslo, director of the Indian Adoption Project until it was incorporated into the Adoption Resource Exchange of North America in 1967, has traced the origins of the project to three factors:

1. A desire to include Indian children in programs developed during the 1940's and the early 1950's to promote the adoption of all children--"the handicapped child, the child in the older age group, and children of other racial groups both within the United States and from foreign lands."
2. The perception that adequate care was available on the reservation for only a small percentage of Indian children born out of wedlock.
3. Increasing interest on the part of non-Indian families in adopting Indian children.[32]

The Indian Adoption Project played an important role in encouraging non-Indians to adopt Indian children. Articles on the project appeared in popular magazines and newspapers, under such titles as, from the New York Times: "Many Indian Children Find New Lives Here: Unwanted in West Are Being Placed in Eastern Homes."[33] In an article in Good Housekeeping, the following observations about adopted Indian children were made:

> Neither is there any balance scale that can weigh the difference between the life these children would have experienced had they been left to grow up, without parents, on an Indian reservation, and the life they will now know as adopted sons and daughters. But this much is certain: the bare earth will never be the floor of their house--unless they go camping for a lark. They will never live huddled together in tiny cabins with neither water nor heating. They will have more than eight years of schooling, and the chances of their dropping out will be 50 times less. They will not be ravaged by disease, and they can expect to live well beyond the 43 years that would have been their life expectancy on an Indian reservation. All the intangibles that are part of parental love and care will also be theirs.[34]

In Far From the Reservation: The Transracial Adoption of American Indian Children, the project was described by the author: "The placement of these children represents a significant effort to use the vehicle of adoption as a possible solution to the lifelong dilemma faced by minority group children whose parents have been defeated by life's circumstances."[35] There is no recognition in the author's description of the study's objectives of any viewpoint other than that of the sponsors of the project:

> The objectives of this research were twofold. One goal was to develop systematic knowledge about the characteristics of the couples who adopted the children. It was hoped thereby to gain increased understanding about the phenomenon of adoption across

> ethnic and racial lines. A second objective was to develop a picture of the experiences encountered by the families and children for a five-year period after the children were placed. If the placements proved viable and resulted in secure living situations for the children, with a minimum of developmental difficulties, agencies might thereby be encouraged to become increasingly venturesome in their placement policies.[36]

There is no recognition at any point in the study of the threat which the removal of these children may pose to Indian communities or any questioning of the process by which the children were identified for participation in the project. According to the study, "these were children identified by social workers on the reservations as being at great risk of growing up without any semblance of family life."[37] There is no consideration of the possibility, in fact the probability, that some reservation social workers lack the intercultural understanding to make such a judgment accurately. There was no questioning of the typical failure of social service agencies serving the reservation areas to explore alternate solutions to the problems these children's families faced, and only a scant recognition that services to reservation residents were limited:

> In consultation with social agencies, we learned that services to Indian unmarried mothers had been extremely limited. Because the Bureau of Indian Affairs itself was not authorized to engage directly in the field of adoption, and because adoptive applicants had been so limited in number, very few unmarried mothers were ever given any choice but to keep their children.[38]

In view of the major orientation of this research, as well as the Indian Adoption Project, to non-Indian values, especially those espoused by professional social workers, the following statement by the executive director of the Child Welfare League of America has a superficial, almost hypocritical ring:

> It is the position of the Child Welfare League of America that transracial adoption of American Indian children is a sound option until it is possible for all Indian children to be cared for by natural or adoptive Indian families. Justification for this position must be predicated on continuous support for efforts that help Indians improve their economic and social conditions and that expand and improve the health, educational and social services available to them toward this end.[39]

Although the study of the Indian Adoption Project concluded that the great majority of Indian children adopted by non-Indian families were developing normally and were meeting the expectations of their adoptive parents, reports by psychiatrists suggest that Indian children in non-Indian adoptive or foster homes run a greater risk of developing emotional and social problems than children raised by their natural parents. For instance, a statement written by Dr. Carl E. Mindell and Dr. Alan Gurwitt and adopted in 1975 by the American Academy of Child Psychiatry asserts:

There is much clinical evidence to suggest that these Native American children placed in off-reservation non-Indian homes are at risk in their later development. Often enough they are cared for by devoted and well-intentioned foster or adoptive parents. Nonetheless, particularly in adolescence, they are subject to ethnic confusion and a pervasive sense of abandonment with its attendant multiple ramifications. Consequently, these problems combined with their untoward early childhood preplacement experiences adversely affect their young adulthood and their own potential capacities as parents.[40]

Dr. Joseph Westermeyer of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Minnesota defined, according to his own experiences, the following as major issues in Indian child welfare:

1. An inordinate number of Indian children in Minnesota are taken from their families by courts and welfare agencies. Depending on the county, the rate of such placement is five to 20 times that of the general population. Conservatively estimated, at least a quarter of the Indian children in Minnesota are placed out of their homes in any given year (the prevalence of such placement at some time during the childhood of Indian children is probably higher).

2. The taking of children from Indian parents often results in breakup of the marriage and dispersal of the father-mother-children group as a functioning unit. Such out-of-home placement usually occurs at a time of family turmoil. Workers and courts fail to use other methods of keeping families together and helping them to cope, preferring the "easier" administrative route of merely taking the children "for their own good" while ignoring the good of the parents and the family unit.

3. Criteria for foster and adoptive homes contain racial/ ethnic biases since requirements concerning space, number of rooms, facilities, income, etc., effectively remove many stable and supportive Indian families from consideration as foster families.

4. Placement of vast numbers of Indian children in non-Indian homes results in a de facto attempt at genocide of Indian tribal cultures. Children raised in white homes attain an ethnic identity like that of their foster or adoptive parents (despite the common fantasies of their foster and adoptive parents regarding the young "noble savage" in their midst).

5. Foster and adoptive placement of Indian children has become "big business" in certain areas, since it provides a means by which federal monies can be funneled to local welfare departments and to professional "foster parents." The result is a

federally funded impetus to maintain and increase such "services," of which Indian children and families become the dupes. Thus, welfare agencies are rewarded for their disrupting the Indian families instead of for their assisting them in times of trouble.

6. Indian foster children are commonly moved from home to home so that they do not experience a stable family unit. This results in a "foster child syndrome": panic attacks, abandonment nightmares, free floating anxiety, and inability to establish long-lasting trusting relationships and thus to live contentedly as a child within a family unit.

7. Indian foster children raised in white foster and adoptive homes come to assume white behavior, values, and attitudes. During adolescence, however, they find that teachers, school counselors, the parents of white adolescents whom they date, prospective employers, and others categorize them as Indian and deny them the white social role which they have learned. Since they were not raised with Indian values and taught proper Indian behavior, they are left with nonviable white stereotypes of "Indianness" (e.g., Hollywood ideas about Indians of 100 years ago, the "drunken Indian" image). Faced with such an anomic or noncultural situation, emotional turmoil and problematic social behavior becomes the frequent consequence.[41]

What has happened to Indian children and continues to happen under current laws and regulations and as a result of non-Indian good will is justified cause for alarm by tribal leadership and by Indian communities. It will cease only when tribes and Indian organizations are able to act to protect their own children, with the financial and technical support of Federal agencies to enable them to develop their own programs and solutions.

Current Programs

Many changes are in process to provide child welfare services to Indian children and families. A bill (S. 1214) has been introduced in Congress to establish standards for placement of Indian children in foster and adoptive homes. Tribes are beginning to contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide social services for their own members. A number of tribes and urban Indian organizations have been funded by the Office of Child Development, DHEW, to provide demonstration projects that counteract child abuse and neglect. A feasibility study for the direct funding of title XX programs to Indian tribes is being planned by the Office of Human Development, DHEW, in response to pressures from federally recognized tribes. There are indications of Indian child-placing agencies on reservations and in urban areas; the chief impediment is the lack of funding.[42] The American Indian Law Center at the University of New Mexico has developed a model children's code for tribes and has held workshops for tribal officials and tribal courts to help in developing their codes. Training programs in child welfare matters have been held for tribal judges by the National American Indian Court Judges Association. Although many trends are still working against the interests of Indian tribes, families, and children, tribes are beginning to demonstrate an ability to act on some of their resolutions and concerns about their children being removed from their homes and communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Perhaps the most dramatic gaps in the research and professional literature with regard to foster care and adoptions for Indian children are the absence of consideration of intercultural implications and the scarcity of qualified Indian social workers and court officials who might be able to make decisions about foster care and adoption with greater sensitivity to local cultural understandings and strengths of Indian communities. There is pressing need for American Indian professionals and researchers to document the problems of foster care and adoptions from the perspective of Indian cultures and Indian communities whose children are being removed to non-Indian homes and to assist tribes and urban Indian communities in developing alternatives.

The most urgent recommendation of this paper is for programs to encourage American Indian social workers and college students to become involved in research in this field. During the summer of 1969, the United Scholarship Service, Inc., sponsored Action Research in Indian communities, a model project which has been tested on a small scale and which made a successful impact on the students and communities involved.[43] American Indian college and high school students investigated social problems in Indian communities (their own, with few exceptions) and made detailed reports of their findings to be shared with community leaders and officials of appropriate agencies. The benefits to communities were difficult to measure and may have been minimal. But the benefits to the students were: (1) these individuals were given an opportunity to do meaningful work in their own communities, often after years away from home for the purpose of attending school and holding down summer jobs (often unavailable in these communities); (2) they obtained valuable field research experience, with periodic training workshops to help them organize their work; and (3) they were encouraged to take an academic and practical interest in specific social problems faced by members of their own communities. An immediate benefit to American Indian students and, in the long run, to the communities, would be programs to encourage American Indian undergraduate and graduate students to become involved in research with regard to the pressing social problems in their communities, including the removal of children from their homes and communities. The students would be making relevant information available to community leaders to assist in planning programs for alleviating problems.

Another important recommendation is for the establishment of a national American Indian Child Welfare Clearinghouse/Advocacy Center to provide technial assistance and information to tribes and off-reservation Indian groups, to prepare training materials and curriculums at the request of these groups, and to monitor Federal, State, and tribal child welfare policies and the development of programs to meet the needs.

Research and development efforts which would directly benefit tribes and off-reservation Indian groups and might be combined usefully with programs to encourage the development of American Indian research and development specialists in this field are:

1. Further support for development of juvenile codes and ordinances by tribal governments, including surveys of staffing and training needs to make possible further development of tribal juvenile courts.

2. Needs assessments and development of training programs for group home and emergency care staffs on reservations.

3. Curriculum development for schools of social work studying tribal cultures and implications for the delivery of human services to reservation and urban residents who participate in those cultures.

4. Skills inventories to determine the training needs of tribes and Indian groups/organizations as they develop human services delivery systems and to meet the planning and management needs of the tribes and organizations.

5. Case studies and personal reviews of all cases of Indian children in out-of-home placements, boarding schools, foster homes, adoptive homes, church placement programs, as well as a review of efforts being made by agencies to return children to their natural parents and communities.

6. Development of standards for Indian foster and adoptive homes on and off reservations and standards for group care facilities.

7. Research into tribal child-rearing practices and family structures to define implications for child welfare services and to define supportive services needed to assist extended families to care for their children.

8. Review of BIA contracts with State and private non-Indian agencies for adoptions, subsidized adoptions, institutional care, foster care, and group home care, to determine how Indian child-placing agencies may best regulate these subsidized activities.

9. Case studies of off-reservation schools attended by Indian children removed from their natural homes with special attention to attitudes of those in the school to the Indian children and the psychological and social development of the Indian children.

NOTES

[1] Lehman L. Brightman, "Mental Genocide, Some Notes on Federal Schools for Indians," Inequality of Education, pp. 15-19; Center for Social Research and Development, Legal and Jurisdictional Problems in the Delivery of SRS Child Welfare Services on Indian Reservations, pp. 10, 28; Vine V. Deloria, Legislative Analysis of the Federal Role in Indian Education, pp. 25-28; Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education, pp. 2-22, 222-245; Judith S. Kleinfeld with Joseph Bloom, A Long Way from Home: Effects of Public High Schools on Village Children Away from Home, passim; Ellen L. Slaughter, Indian Child Welfare: A Review of Literature, pp. 12-15; Theodore W. Taylor, The States and Their Indian Citizens, pp. 13-20; S. Lyman Tyler, A History of Indian Policy, pp. 45-47; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, pp. 139-165.

[2] Eric Dlugokinski and Lyn Kramer, "A System of Neglect: Indian Boarding Schools," American Journal of Psychiatry (1974), 670-673; Fuchs and Havighurst, op. cit., pp. 222-245; North American Indian Women's Association, Inc., Prototype Program for A National Action for Special Needs of Indian Children Program, pp. 64-89; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Indian Education, The Education of American Indians: A Compendium of Federal Boarding School Evaluations, passim; Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, op. cit., pp. 55-78.

[3] Kleinfeld with Bloom, op. cit., passim; North American Indian Women's Association, Inc., op. cit., pp. 76-78, 88-89; Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge, pp. 373-375.

[4] Center for Social Research and Development, Indian Child Welfare: A State-of-the-Field Study, pp. 256-271.

[5] Ibid., pp. 102-106, 135-137, 247-255; Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Selected Characteristics of Children Receiving Foster Care Under Bureau of Indian Affairs Auspices on October 1, 1972," passim; Steven Lacy, "Navajo Foster Homes," Child Welfare, pp. 127-128; Legal and Jurisdictional Problems, op. cit., pp. 27-36; North American Indian Women's Association, Inc., op. cit., pp. 52-63; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, Indian Child Welfare Program: Hearings, passim.

[6] *Legal and Jurisdictional Problems*, *op. cit*., pp. 37-41; *A State-of-the-Field Study*, pp. 107-110, 137-139, 272-284; David Fanshel, *Far From the Reservation: The Transracial Adoption of American Indian Children*, *passim*; David Fanshel, "Indian Adoption Research Project," *Child Welfare* (1964), 486; Arnold Lyslo, "The Indian Adoption Project," *Catholic Charities Review* (1964), 12-16.

[7] *Indian Child Welfare Program: Hearings*, *op. cit*., pp. 1-2.

[8] U.S. Constitution, Article I, Sec. 2, Cl. 3; Article II, Sec. 8, Cl. 3.

[9] *Cherokee v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. (6 Pet.) 1 (1831).

[10] 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) at 379 (1831); 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) at 380.

[11] 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) at 380.

[12] Taylor, *op. cit*., p. 61.

[13] Felix Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (1942), p. 122.

[14] Taylor, *op. cit*., p. 61.

[15] National American Indian Court Judges Association, *Justice and the American Indian: The Impact of Public Law 280 Upon the Administration of Criminal Justice on Indian Reservations*, pp. 25-27.

[16] *Ibid*., pp. 88-89.

[17] *Black Wolf v. District Court*, 483 P.2d 1293 (Mont. 1972).

[18] North Dakota Legislative Council, "Indian Affairs."

[19] Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Social Services Manual*, Vol. VI, Community Services, Part VI, Welfare, Chapter 3, "General Assistance and Social Services," Section 3.2.5A.

[20] *A State-of-the-Field Study*, *op. cit*., p. 53.

[21] *Legal and Jurisdictional Problems*, *op. cit*., inside cover.

[22] *Ibid*.

[23] *Ibid*., p. 51.

[24] *Ibid*., p. 50.

[25] U.S. Congress, "Operation of Indian Programs," *Hearings, Department of the Interior and Related Agencies, Appropriations for 1976*, p. 71.

[26] Alban W. Hoopes, Indian Affairs and Their Administration: 1849-1860, p. 129.

[27] Slaughter, op. cit., 13.

[28] Kleinfeld with Bloom, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

[29] A State-of-the-Field Study, op. cit., p. 260.

[30] Ibid., p. 265.

[31] Arena News, "Annual Report-1974."

[32] A State-of-the-Field Study, op. cit., p. 272.

[33] Kathleen Telsch, "Many Indian Children Find New Lives Here," New York Times, May 27, 1967.

[34] Arlene Silberman, "My Forty-Five Indian Godchildren," Good Housekeeping (August 1966), pp. 34, 36, 38, 40.

[35] Far From the Reservation, op. cit., p. iii.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 17.

[38] Ibid., p. 37.

[39] Ibid., p. x.

[40] Carl E. Mindell and Alan Gurwitt, "The Placement of American Indian Children--The Need for Change," p. 4.

[41] Joseph Westermeyer, Memo to participants in the Indian Child Welfare and Family Services Conference, January 19, 1974, pp. 1-2.

[42] A State-of-the-Field Study, op. cit., p. 86.

[43] United Scholarship Service, Inc., "Community Action Research Project."

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INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS AND INDIAN WOMEN: BLESSING OR CURSE?
A Preliminary Report and Suggestions for Further Study

Carolyn L. Attneave and Agnes Dill*

The Indian boarding school has been a fact of life and of history for nearly 100 years in the United States. It is also a very controversial institution, both within the Indian world and as viewed from the outside. There are loyal supporters, particularly among Indian leaders now in their 50's or older. There are detractors, and there are reformers. The latter have become more vocal as Indian control of educational systems has become possible either through local participation on public school boards or through the development of schools administered and controlled by tribal councils and urban Indian groups. Frequent scathing reports are made by outsiders, especially those professionals called upon to consult with the BIA schools and by clinicians who accept students referred for serious emotional and behavioral problems. The American Psychiatric Association Task Force on American Indian Affairs published an editorial in 1974, "Boarding Schools, A Menace to Mental Health," which forcefully expresses this view.[1]

Such observations by professionals are certainly not without foundation. Perhaps some bitterness follows from the hopelessness of doing anything constructive to change the situation, even though the potential for making boarding schools an asset remains ever present just below the threshold of experience. In the 1950's, a pilot study made at Flandreau School in South Dakota demonstrated the possibility of modifying present practices and of creating a better climate for learning and integrating tribal and mainstream cultures.[2,3] In 1974, an inquiry of the present superintendent of that school revealed that he was aware that such a study had been done, and that the report was lying somewhere. However, he had not read it and felt that no changes were possible. A similar experience has just been observed with the model dormitory project on the Navajo reservation.[4,5] This project demonstrated an economical and effective way of significantly improving the children's achievement and health, as well as limiting the emotional stresses associated with separation from home and family.

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*The assistance of Jace L. Cuney, graduate staff assistant in American Indian studies, University of Washington, is acknowledged. Ms. Cuney helped solicit responses from a sample of contemporary Indian women, i.e., students at the university and representatives of their parental generation.

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The innovative variable introduced in the model dormitory was the presence of enough adults, mostly older women, to change the ratio of grownups to children to 1:6 instead of the 1:25 to 1:250 that usually prevailed. The women were available to the children especially in those hours when school classes were not in session. They had no specific roles but followed various methods of being available. A woman who was a weaver set up her loom where children could watch, ask questions, experiment, and imitate. Others played games with the children or told stories, and all acted as supportive adults when there were minor bumps and scratches, hurt feelings, and the like. When needed, they made the services of a clinic or dining room staff worker, dormitory matron, or teacher more easily acceptable and accessible.

The children of the model dorm flourished physically, as shown by height, weight, and other indexes. They did well in competitive sports. Their academic achievement was at a superior level, as measured by standard tests, and they won prizes at fairs and 4H gatherings for their production of crafts and skills. Comparative data from other Navajo schools demonstrate the effectiveness of this simple change in staffing.

Caution should be expressed when generalizing from the model dormitory project. It involved elementary-school-age children. Most of the narratives collected in this report are concerned with secondary school experience. It may be that the model dorm could not be copied exactly for adolescents, although it points out a direction to be pursued.

The Model Dormitory project exhibits a striking parallel with the Flandreau experience. When the funds for the demonstration ran out, the schools reverted to the old style, and made no apparent effort to modify practice in light of the findings. This has given rise to bitter feelings amongst Navajo people as well as professionals. The Indian Health Act, passed by Congress in 1976, provides for several more model dorms to be established. Whether this activity will finally have an impact on BIA boarding school administration remains to be seen.

Perhaps it is not surprising that it is so difficult to change an entrenched educational system when that system is based on mixed motives and has a bureaucratic culture of its own. Most efforts to improve boarding schools are sponsored by reformers unaware of either the historic background or of the many motivations and cultural patterns interwoven into the context. When only the present product--and often only the failures of the system--is seen, planned changes create antagonistic defenses. Then reforms are often predestined to failure.

WHY BOARDING SCHOOLS FOR AMERICAN INDIANS?

Why do we need boarding schools for American Indians? One must first consider the different ways in which education is viewed both by the major culture and by Indian people.

Education is always a part of any culture as the institutionalized way of inducting each new generation into the appropriate roles they will play as adults. It includes the transmission of skills, concepts, information, and attitudes. The methods by which this is done, however, also vary from culture to culture. Often people of one culture fail to recognize the educational aspects of daily living and child-rearing activities of another culture. In such situations, especially when the representatives of the dominant culture are unable or unwilling to see clearly the minority culture's values, skills, and roles, the injection of institutionalized education from one culture to another meets with unexpected difficulties. Distortions, frustrations, inadequate educational transmission of either culture, and side effects of malformed personalities, painful emotional reactions, and apparently insoluble social problems are apt to result.

One of the inescapable facts of 19th and early 20th century history was the hope of the dominant American culture that education would raise all citizens of the United States to higher levels of participation in the social, political, and economic activities of the developing country. It was the vehicle of the melting pot for immigrants and the destroyer of social class barriers for the native born. Education for all was to be the salvation of the new country emerging in the 19th century. Indeed, to a certain extent, education by means of free public schools and dedicated teachers accomplished many of these goals for various parts of society.

However, in addition to seeing education as a way of opening new doors into the dominant society for American Indians, another element affected how and where schools were provided for Indian children. Lilian Winer, whose 1973 dissertation at the University of Maryland covers all the closed committee hearings of Congress on Indian education from the 19th century through 1930, demonstrates conclusively that no money was ever appropriated by Congress for Indian education unless it could be demonstrated that, among other goals, the programs would be a means of control of the Indian population. While not all Congressmen shared this sentiment, the balance of power was held not by altruists, but by those who felt the need to control, assimilate, or eliminate American Indian people and their culture.

Indeed. the Indian schools established by the Federal Government were first conceived of as planned evolution, or social Darwinism. All the children could be separated from their parents, educated in "American" schools, and "civilized." Thus, in one generation, the Indian problem would be solved, since assimilation would have occurred and Indian culture and lifestyles would have been destroyed. The pessimists thought it might take two generations instead of one.

There are almost no pupils of that era still alive, although we do have vivid photographs and drawings of the use of lassos to capture Navajo and Apache children, some biographies,[6] some personal oral histories, and various fictionalized accounts. Needless to say, for the Indian people as a whole, both the idea of losing their children to be "bleached," or changed into white persons, and the "educational" methods used freely by the dominant culture were horrifying. Some sense of the tremendous interest in teaching children and youth and of the diffusion of responsibility for education among all persons in tribal life can be gained from the 1974 report of the Myrin Institute, *Respect for Life: The Traditional Upbringing of American Indian Children*,[7] in which Navajo, Crow, Arapaho, and Pueblo elders describe their distinctive traditions and common traits.

SUCCESS OR FAILURE? HOW DO WE KNOW?

Certainly, the cultural identity of American Indians has not disappeared. However, it is not clear whether this is partially due to "failure" of the boarding school. Perhaps not all children were captured and shipped off to schools. There were not enough schools to "educate" all of them, even if that goal had been accomplished. It is doubtful that the schools that existed were efficient after all. For these among other reasons, the aspirations of the early founders of the BIA schools were not completely successful.

One unanswered question is whether the early BIA schools were more successful in teaching literacy than present-day boarding schools. Another, and a tantalizing one, is whether they were more successful for girls than for boys. Most early material on the subject was written by men about what they understood--which was other men and boys. A search needs to be made for records and anecdotal material concerning the 19th century experience of women and girls as pupils of the boarding schools.

More important, a study needs to be conducted on the differences in cultural attitudes among boarding schools. We need information about the usefulness of the boarding schools as educational institutions for Indian girls and women of the earlier and later years of the 20th century. To test whether this kind of project might be possible, the interviews and questionnaires sampled in this paper provide a possible approach.

In addition to oral history data, studies of actual academic performance and achievement of total boarding school populations and studies of goals and actual practices in contemporary boarding schools need to be made. Above all, some attention needs to be paid to the successful Indian women and girls, not just to dropouts, social rejects, and failures. We do not know enough yet to be able to answer without emotion the attacks of the mental health professional or the defenses of the BIA bureaucracy. This short exploration presents some preliminary findings and suggests that it should be possible to secure some better data and reach some conclusions.

THE GRANDMOTHER'S EXPERIENCES

Agnes Dill, one of the collaborators in this pilot study, attended boarding school in the 1920's. She received vocational training in housekeeping, which she put to use eventually as a matron in the boarding school dormitories of the 1930's and 1940's. By the 1950's and 1960's, she had also worked as a teacher or teacher's aide. Finally, in retirement in the 1970's, she is in considerable demand as a consultant to local public and boarding schools near her home in New Mexico and across the Southwest. It is to her that we turn for information on her contemporaries and their reflections on the boarding school experience.

Starting with some of her classmates, Agnes Dill interviewed a number of women who attended boarding school between 1911 and 1930. The picture they paint in their reminiscences is that of a strict military model for daily routines--with platoons, KP "policing" (clean up) quarters, inspections, and mess halls. Within this framework approximately half a day was spent on academic subjects, chiefly the "three R's," and half a day on vocational training in housekeeping. For a few favored ones, there was training in practical nursing. As the girl progressed in her domestic skills, she was allowed "outings" that we would today call "work/study." Girls worked as domestics for households near the school until graduation and graduated as competent housekeepers with job references.

Although today young people and their parents would consider such a regimen demeaning, most of the survivors of the experience find that it had some benefits which they have put to good use during the rest of their lives. Excerpts from three interviews with women of this vintage follow, quoted almost in full because of the color and detail they provide.

Respondent No. 1

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING BOARDING SCHOOL? I went to Bernallilo to the Loretta Boarding School for 6 months in 1911; the following year I went to the Albuquerque Indian School. We had better teachers who were strict. I learned a lot in vocational training: sewing, cooking, laundry. Teachers were very dedicated and interested in their pupils, not like they are today. Teachers didn't have pets and didn't rush students through. They gave credit where credit was due.

Arithmetic was hard for me. My music teacher was wonderful. The girls had a club called the Minnehaha Club. The school being under the military system we drilled like soldiers. This gave us a lot of training in discipline, bodies erect, take and carry out orders.

There was an outing program at the schools and I was detailed to work in Dr. D__________'s home. I worked in many homes as a domestic after graduation. My employers would compliment me on my cooking and neatness. In my later years I worked for civil service as house mother for student nurses of practical nursing. There I taught the principles of cooking. Many girls didn't know how. I taught other methods of housekeeping. Also, a mother and wife. . . .

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? No, because I lived in the village only a short while as I had gone to Bernallilo to school in my early childhood. I already talked English when I went to school.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? It's good for women to be up with men. Women have to get involved and get their voice in government and should become prepared for this. I'm all for women taking part in athletics. In education I feel very strongly that girls should receive equal chance in education because in some places women can be better qualified than men. Women want their place in the world too, and they want their chance. We have women driving buses, trucks, airplanes. Women aren't going to sit back anymore.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS?

1. Need more education because it takes more educaton to get into a field of any kind.
2. Need discipline because there is none in schools now.
3. Need moral training because when they get out in the world they can't set a good example.
4. Need religious training, otherwise they wouldn't have all this drinking, smoking, drugs, sexual problems.
5. Need equal treatment with men.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS?

1. Should have fields open so women can take advantage of these openings in the field of their choice, be it athletics, jobs, etc.
2. Recommend experienced teachers, in specialized fields of vocational education, athletics.
3. Have the programs to interest students to give them motivation even if it takes field assignments.
4. Aptitude tests should be given so students won't waste teacher's time.
5. Provide counseling in such areas as moral living and religion.

Respondent No. 2

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? Tulalip Indian School, Marysville, 1927-1932; grade 9, Chemawa, Oregon, 1932-34; grade 12, U.S. Indian School "Special Arts."

WHAT GRADES WERE THESE? 6th grade to 12th plus post-graduate

DID YOU GRADUATE? Yes.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? My older sister had TB. My parents sent my brother and me to BIA, and we did not get TB. My sister died that first year.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? I had no choice. But I had known other students and they liked it. They seemed to be smart.

DID YOU LIKE IT AFTER YOU GOT THERE? Yes. At Tulalip the teachers were very good, understanding, and recognized each student's problems. Four were Indians.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? No. I sent two daughters to Chillocco, Oklahoma, and they did fine. But that was 1962. Today I hear reports of drinking and no-grade classes.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING THE BOARDING SCHOOL? I was a good student, ignored the bad aspects, and was out to get an education. I sometimes felt that if I was less motivated that I would have followed the crowd.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? No. In 1927, we did not hear discrimination, segregation, and all the stereotypes, so we stayed in our place. Nonactivist!

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? Women have always been involved in education. Now we should enter Government agencies, political, etc. We must be involved in athletics for our own health and that of children. No passive interest.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? The boarding schools are not meeting the needs of Indian students in a learning atmosphere.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS? Discipline is the greatest need in the BIA schools today. No parent wants their child to go to a school to learn to drink, smoke, have loose morals, etc. Do expect the students to learn. Clean bodies, clean houses, and clean living.

Respondent No. 3 (1938)

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING THE BOARDING SCHOOL? Boarding School really taught us a lot of things. We could go into any home and cook, sew, or keep house. Now they don't want to cook. Teachers and employees were dedicated people, interested in the pupils who did things right along with them.

I was assistant cook at the dining room and a matron for three years. I went to summer school. Then Mrs. F__________ put me to teaching serving because she thought I was qualified, but the superintendent said I had no degree and could not teach, so I was taken out. [While I was teaching] I taught 12th grade girls and boys to cook, and 6th and 8th grade cooking and serving. I made the lesson plans for each day.

The Junior Matron, Mrs. M__________ at that time did not want to do her work. They pushed me around, then they put me to direct the Practice Cottages. Women didn't say anything, so I didn't fight back, for in those days we didn't talk back to voice our opinions. I thought the children were forgetting their manners so I asked if I could teach them to at least say, "thank you," "hello," "excuse me." Sometimes I think I got the ill treatment because as a woman I was ambitious.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? No, it didn't. We knew what was going on at home. We came home at Christmas and then in summer. We came home and didn't have trouble adjusting. They didn't want us to talk Indian (at school) because we had to learn in English, and we had to talk to other tribes. We never thought of our cultural background until someone put it in our heads.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? Kids are cutting classes right and left. There are no programs at AIS except home economics, and they don't want to take that. They don't want to do anything. Just want to roam around. Seventh grade girls are smoking.

At __________ School, the Planning Committee was picked by Superintendant W__________. No Indian or no women picked. That's why we have no music and band. I think the kids teach themselves. They have to join in society. If mother is left alone they have to get involved. I don't think they should get involved in Government so much. Should have all the education they can get because when their children grow up they should have something to do. They need to learn to be educated because men are becoming more alcoholic and women have to be father and mother. I don't think we will have a woman governor, but I think women should be on the council.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? Mothers tell me that those of us women who went to school about 20 to 25 years ago were better homemakers and mothers than they are today. I don't think the schools are meeting those needs now. Mothers say the children are not becoming anything in the school now. The girls don't want to do anything. The girls are only interested in boys. They need some kind of vocational training even if it's just 2 or 3 hours.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS? First of all to teach them respect and about God (to be more spiritual).

THE PARENTAL GENERATION

In the 1940's through the 1950's, several shifts seem to have occurred. By this time there was very little feeling on the part of most Indian families that the white man's education was to be spurned. Today an increasing number of traditionalists, especially those charged with the rearing of ceremonial leaders, attempt to hide their children from the contamination of the white man's schools. In the 1940's and 1950's, many more were convinced that the route for their children was up the educational ladder, just as much as it was for the mainstream white and immigrant youth.

Generally, the reports we have secured from women of this period suggest that the absence of alternative educational possibilities was a strong motivation for going away to boarding school, whether Government or parochial. The rigorous militaristic character of the schools was slightly modified, but there is continual reference to the "discipline," which often consisted of being forced to kneel on bare floors for hours, of being deprived of food or privileges, and of the then usual administration of the rod, cane, or belt in substantial punishment. Often the offenses were unintended, the punishment unexpected and unexplained, and the emotional shock greater perhaps than the physical pain.

Cleanliness was almost reverently pursued. Scrubbing bodies until they were beet red, scrubbing clothes, scrubbing floors--these activities are always mentioned--sometimes with grim humor, sometimes with pride or shame. Nevertheless, as will be seen on reading these excerpts, the BIA or occasionally a parochial school was seen as the only way to secure an education. And an education was desired--at least by these women, now mature, successful, and willing to participate in our inquiry on short notice.

However, by the 1950's, a new element was beginning to enter into the choice of boarding school pupils. The Indian tribal extended family system had been broken up and was being derogated by Anglo-Americans who valued independent nuclear families. At the same time, tuberculosis, poverty, and, eventually, war disrupted the newly formed Indian nuclear households. Often the boarding school became the substitute home for children who might otherwise have been in orphanages or wards of local agencies unprepared to care for them.

Homes disrupted by illness and death, and the desire for education at any price--even that of leaving home to get it--these two themes seem characteristic of the narratives given us by women who attended boarding schools through the 1950's, as seen in the excerpts that follow.

Respondent No. 4

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? Wahpeton Indian School.

WHAT YEARS? From 1951 to 1958.

WHAT GRADES WERE THESE? 2nd through 8th grade.

DID YOU GRADUATE? I graduated from 8th grade.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? I attended the Wahpeton boarding school because I had no real home and I lived with different relatives.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? I did want to go, because I didn't want to impose on my relatives. And I was curious.

DID YOU LIKE IT AFTER YOU GOT THERE? No, at first I didn't like it because I didn't know anyone, and I wasn't used to strict rules and regulations.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? I think I would send my daughter to boarding school, if it was my last resort, because I think children belong with their natural parents and boarding school can't replace parental love.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING THE BOARDING SCHOOL? Boarding school helped me the most as a woman to clean house and be clean, also how to be independent and to conform to rules and regulations.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? My cultural background made it a little difficult for me to adjust to life in a boarding school because prior to going to school I lived with my grandparents and they still had the old ways. Like in religion and the way in which our foods were prepared. But after watching other children my age I conformed.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? I think Indian women and girls should get involved in politics, education, and athletics, and any place else they can become involved.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? The needs for Indian women and girls today are to be more outgoing and to be able to communicate. Boarding schools are meeting these needs because if you don't speak up you are left out.

Respondent No. 5

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? Holy Rosary High School, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

WHAT YEARS? From 1957 to 1963.

DID YOU GRADUATE? Yes.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? No other school.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? No--low standard of education.

DID YOU LIKE IT AFTER YOU GOT THERE? No.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? No--low standard of education.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING THE BOARDING SCHOOL? How to keep house.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? Yes.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? More should get involved.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? No.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS? Reorganization. Restructuring of curriculum. Example: Their history books need revision, and not enough foreign languages and math classes.

Respondent No. 6

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? Mt. Edgecumbe High, Mt. Edgecumbe, Alaska.

WHAT YEARS? From September 1950 to May 1953.

WHAT GRADES WERE THESE? High school.

DID YOU GRADUATE? Yes.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? The only one available close by. My village did not have high school at that time.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? Yes. If I wanted to finish high school I had to go. Many young people were going at the time, and it was the thing to do.

DID YOU LIKE IT AFTER YOU GOT THERE? It was frightening. I did not know anyone. The punishment was severe without our knowing or being advised in advance on what to do or what the consequences would be.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? No. Not to this same boarding school. It is now very small, and it is not as effectively exciting. There possibly would not be as much pride in the school.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING THE BOARDING SCHOOL? Learning to live with others. Learning about the ways and feelings of other natives from other areas. Learn to live in the "white man's" world. Table manners, language, etc.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? No. We all had basically the same difficulty in adjusting. It was difficult to take punishment when you are not used to it.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? I come from a matrilineal society where we are pushed to do and accomplish things. These are all good areas for women.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? I have no idea. The need is not to be so cut off from our own culture as I was.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS? A curriculum that enables a native to have pride in his/her culture. Include information about Alaska Native in all areas of the school program--not just during special days or special ceremonies.

Respondent No. 7

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? St. Mary's Academy, O'Niel, Nebraska; St. Mary School for Indian Girls, Springfield, South Dakota; Oglala Community School, Pine Ridge, South Dakota; and Rosebud Boarding School, Mission, South Dakota.

WHAT YEARS? From 1941 to 1952.

WHAT GRADES WERE THESE? Kindergarten; 3rd through 12th.

DID YOU GRADUATE? Yes.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? A case of necessity. My mother had tuberculosis and was in and out of sanitariums. She passed away when I was 10 years old.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? There was no questioning of my desires. I think perhaps I wanted to go because I know that caring for us taxed my mother's strength, and I wanted her to be well.

DID YOU LIKE IT AFTER YOU GOT THERE? No, but if you know there are no alternatives it becomes bearable.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? I never thought of sending either of my two daughters to boarding school. My survival of the system taught me that there is a difference between living and existing, and boarding schools offer very little for a healthy development.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING BOARDING SCHOOL? None. Except perhaps in discovering that my strength came not from the rigors and discipline of boarding school life. It was my strength that allowed me to make it through.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? Not particularly. My experience began at an early age, enough so that I accepted the circumstances and learned how to deal with them. Now when I look back on it I had a life that was not dull and certainly filled with a lot of pain and anxiety. Somehow the total experience warped me permanently, but in very insidious ways which are difficult to express.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? Whatever the arena Indian women should be involved. Our strength has not been eroded or diluted because of the relationship between Indian and Government, as the men have suffered. It is our task to be involved and remain strong so that our people too can survive with dignity.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? The needs are the same as for all females in any culture: the chance to develop physically, emotionally, and spiritually, and without suppression of their traditions and customs. The boarding schools are not much better at meeting those needs today than they were in my day. They define growth as being synonymous with conformity. To shape, to bend, and too often, to break are the guidelines followed.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS? To retain and educate the staff at schools so they can learn to look at children as individuals. Especially for Indian staff. They are products of the old boarding schools and have it ingrained, attitudinally, that it is a good way simply because they made it through.

THE RECENT GENERATION

In the 1960's, another factor affected many Indian youths being sent to boarding school. In common with the restlessness of mainstream American youth, school per se began to be unattractive. Adventurousness and, during the 1960's, drugs, wanderlust, and political activism attracted many students away from school. Alcoholism also began what has become a meteoric rise in its abuse by youth. For the majority of youth from the dominant culture, these years were interruptions of patterns of living which, while never perhaps easy, were nonetheless in some ways consistent with other parts of the culture.

For the American Indian youth it has been a truly devastating experience of cultural deterioration. American Indian youth and adults are overrepresented in prisons and detention centers, drug and alcoholism centers, and other institutions newly and hastily established to cope with the national phenomena. Overrepresentation in juvenile correctional facilities is partially circumvented, or at least reduced, by the BIA schools. Boarding schools often provide an alternative for the Indian youngster in trouble at home or with police--a step before entering the courts and corrections systems not available to other minorities or mainstreamed young people. However, their policies and educational curriculums are still designed for illiterate people, not social and emotional misfits.

It is ironic when one realizes that this is a full-circle return to the dreams of a century ago. The hope is that the BIA or other boarding school will somehow change the cultural perceptions and behaviors of the delinquent and wean him from that subculture to a more acceptable set of values and roles in society. Having become too much like his dominant-culture counterparts, at least in counterculture characteristics, he is again expected to be "civilized" by the boarding school.

The pronoun "he" has been used carefully in the discussion of the boarding school as a haven for delinquent and disturbed youth because most of the material available to outline these problems is concerned with males. Over and over again one talks with a successful Indian man, a product of the boarding schools of this era, and he reaches the point of wondering aloud, "Why me?. . . All of my classmates (or dormitory mates or fellows from my village) are either dead or in prison. Why did I happen to be lucky enough to escape that?. . ."

We do not have comparably pessimistic data about girls and women. There are indications that in the boarding schools, young Indian girls are found in higher proportions than school girls of white populations. It is probably true that the number of delinquent girls is higher than in earlier generations, but in terms of accurate information about the role of boarding schools with regard to this pattern we know very little.

There is some possibility that early pregnancies bring adolescent girls to the attention of agencies other than those available to boys, and that the resources available to them, as well as the roles and expectations they fulfill, are quite different. These factors deserve more study, and soon. The urgency is felt as the poorly understood women's equality movements begin to have their impact on Indian girls, as well as on the majority cultures.

We do have a little additional information about the roles of mothers in the Indian world during the 60's, even though it is largely anecdotal. Carolyn Attneave, working with mental health services in Oklahoma in the 1960's, reports that each year a number of Indian mothers of 9- and 10-year-old youngsters approached the guidance clinic for help in arranging boarding school admission for their children. Upon exploration of the problem, it usually became apparent that the parents, especially the mother, had spent the years from childhood to adolescence in boarding school. However, the militaristic platoon type of daily routine from her own childhood was adaptable to a nuclear family home. Often the grandparent generation had had similar experience, and there were no available role models for caring for children through the elementary school and junior high school ages in the memory banks of any close relative.

Some of these families struggled heroically with learning parental roles a decade before parent effectiveness training (PET) became a fad for the dominant culture. Perhaps the schools were more effective at eradicating traces of cultural continuity than they knew--and perhaps both Indian and non-Indian families are now regretting that the schools took over so many parental functions for so long. Certainly we need far more information about the lives of these women and about the discontinuities that they experienced, as well as how they have solved these problems. Many Indian women have found solutions and may be anticipating lessons the dominant culture could learn with profit.

Be that as it may, the reports that follow are from young women who attended boarding schools in this period and speak for themselves.

Respondent No. 8

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? Flandreau Indian High School.

WHAT YEARS? From 1966 to 1968.

WHAT GRADES WERE THESE? Eleventh and 12th.

DID YOU GRADUATE? Yes.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? I attended a parochial school for 2 years and didn't receive the help I needed in my subjects. I filled out an application for Flandreau and was accepted. I understood boarding schools were for children of broken homes, and being accepted I was surprised.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? I went because I needed assistance in my courses, and being that my parents reached only the 5th and 6th grade I felt that this was my best bet. I'm glad I did go.

DID YOU LIKE IT AFTER YOU GOT THERE? Lonesome at first, because it was the first time ever being away from home.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? No, because I live fairly well and am educated enough to assist my girls with school problems.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING BOARDING SCHOOL? I learned to speak up for myself, to budget my money, responsibilities to the duties I was assigned to. I learned to get along.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? No. Not at all.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? I have no objections, it's a way of life and survival.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? Needs a special type of work like in nursing courses on my reservation. No, the schools are not meeting the needs.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS? Add more variety of courses, like for career education.

Respondent No. 9

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? Flandreau Indian School, Flandreau, South Dakota.

WHAT YEARS? From 1967 to 1970.

WHAT GRADES WERE THESE? Freshman through senior.

DID YOU GRADUATE? Yes.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? I had tried several but ended up quitting.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? Yes. Mainly just to get away from here (home).

DID YOU LIKE IT AFTER YOU GOT THERE? I did. It was really hard to get adjusted in other schools, but this was a lot easier and I just slipped right in.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? I don't have any girls, but if I did, I'd suggest it.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING BOARDING SCHOOL? By finding out I was as equal to others, serving, cooking and doing things for myself.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? No.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? I think it's alright.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? To become independent. When a girl is away to a boarding school, she adjusts to this as it's almost impossible to go home whenever one feels she has to.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS? By having off-campus living quarters and doing things properly without supervision.

Respondent No. 10

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? Standing Rock Boarding School, and Eagle Butte Boarding School.

WHAT YEARS? From 1969 to 1970--Ft. Yates; 1970-1971--Cheyenne Eagle Butte.

WHAT GRADES WERE THESE? Eleventh and 12th grade.

DID YOU GRADUATE? No.

IF NOT, WHY DID YOU LEAVE? Because I didn't like school anymore.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? I didn't like Ft. Yates, so I changed to another boarding school.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? Yes, I did at first but I quit.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? No, I wouldn't because I believe a girl's place is at home.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING BOARDING SCHOOL? I got to know a little more about our culture. When we put on a play.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? No, it didn't.

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? Government--so, so. Education--if you want this it'll come to you. Occupations--if you like to work, but what work is there? Athletics--if you want to get involved it's up to you.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? No, boarding school doesn't meet the needs of a growing woman.

WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU MAKE TO MEET THESE NEEDS? There is no recommendation. I don't like it, at least not for my children.

Respondent No. 11

WHAT BOARDING SCHOOL DID YOU ATTEND? Chemawa, Salem, Oregon.

WHAT YEARS? From September 1970 to May 1974.

WHAT GRADES WERE THESE? Nine to 12.

DID YOU GRADUATE? Yes.

HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO GO TO BOARDING SCHOOL? I didn't care for the instructors in my hometown public school.

DID YOU WANT TO GO? WHY OR WHY NOT? Yes. The instructors at my public school had it bad against the Indian students, which I couldn't take. Chemawa was brought to my attention so I applied.

DID YOU LIKE IT AFTER YOU GOT THERE? Yes.

WOULD YOU SEND A GIRL OF YOUR OWN TO BOARDING SCHOOL? WHY OR WHY NOT? It would be up to her.

AS A WOMAN, WHAT BENEFITS DID YOU GET FROM ATTENDING BOARDING SCHOOL? I don't look at it as being a woman or man, but I really enjoyed it mainly because I got to meet many other Indian students from various other tribes.

DID YOUR CULTURAL BACKGROUND MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO ADJUST TO LIFE IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL? No, not at all!

WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ABOUT INDIAN WOMEN BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE AREAS OF GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONS, AND ATHLETICS? I'm for it because I do work, go to school to get into law, and I enjoy sports.

WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF INDIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS TODAY, AND DO YOU THINK THE BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE MEETING THESE NEEDS? My need mainly was to get into women's athletics, which was very hard for me in public school. I was in sports all year round for 4 years.

SUMMARY AND HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

It is far too simplistic to condemn or laud boarding schools as if they were the same institution for all cultures at all periods of time. In gathering this sample to test whether a large-scale study might be profitable, no systematic sampling was done. By starting with three Indian women interviewers, each a generation apart in age, and from three very different geographic locations (the Southwest, the Northwest, and the Plains), considerable information was collected in a few weeks. The interest in participation and the amount of oral material derived from discussions suggests that this is a timely and rich field for careful research. The preferred mode would be structured interviews which could be tape recorded and transcribed. Both individual interviews and small groups of contemporaries should be engaged in reminiscences and should be asked key questions.

The use of small groups of two or three is suggested by the discussions carried on in the offices and over coffee by Indian women who filled out questionnaires. It is also observable that American Indian adults often use boarding school acquaintances and experience to validate one another in the same ways as tribal people formerly utilized clan and kin connections. There appears to be a sororal feeling about those who have attended boarding schools that is matched only by men who have shared war experiences. One is reminded of the veterans of World War I and World War II when listening to the recounting of tales of the kinds of discipline, group tactics of evasion of authority, and of the hardships endured. It is easy to perceive the close-knit group feelings that emerge from these discussions among boarding school alumnae.

These reactions may be values and side effects not anticipated by the Congress and the bureaucratic planners of the boarding school movement. Certainly these feelings have not always been considered by those who would abolish or reform the present boarding schools. However, they must be understood and appreciated before any planned changes can be acceptably introduced and, perhaps more important, if we do not wish to destroy what has been successful in eliminating the negative aspects of this institution.

Such a study is valuable to Indians in several potential ways. There is value in recording an experience which has touched the lives of the vast majority of American Indian women in many ways, but which has not been documented or reported for them as it has been for their male counterparts. If insights into how to combine educational functions for two or more cultures into one institution emerge from this study, one hopes that the insights can be placed in the hands of the school boards, teachers, the BIA, and others responsible for structuring and administering Indian education.

Finally, there are indications that some problems of the dominant culture are shared by the minority, who may perhaps have been anticipated by the American Indian experiences. The same complaints about why children and youths are unable to read, write, calculate, and think seem today to be echoing across cultural lines. Perhaps a study of this sort may shed light on these acute problems. There are other problems of comparable importance. Have Indian women had more successful experiences than Indian men in boarding schools? Indian women also seem to have had less need of the more extravagant ideas of the women's liberation movement to develop ego strength and to feel equal to their men. Perhaps some insight into the total educational experience of Indian girls and women will be helpful in defining the struggle for equality without the loss of uniqueness that is emerging in the dominant culture.

For all these reasons, we recommend that this subject be explored in depth with a series of studies over the next few years, under the sponsorship of NIE women's section and other appropriate agencies.

NOTES

[1] Morton Beiser. "Editorial: A Hazard to Mental Health: Indian Boarding Schools." American Journal of Psychiatry 131 (March 1974), 305-306.

[2] Thaddeus P. Krush and John W. Bjork. "Mental Health Factors in an Indian Boarding School." Mental Hygiene 49 (1965), 94-103.

[3] Thaddeus P. Krush, et al. "Some Thoughts on the Formation of Personality Disorders: Study of an Indian Boarding School Population." American Journal of Psychiatry 122 (February 1966), 868-876.

[4] Robert L. Bergman and George S. Goldstein. "The Model Dorm: Changing Indian Boarding Schools." Paper prepared for the A.P.A. 126th Annual Meeting, Honolulu, Hawaii, May 7-11, 1973.

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RELEVANCY OF TRIBAL INTERESTS AND TRIBAL DIVERSITY IN DETERMINING THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

Rita Keshena

American Indian women are tribal people, and we can no more be separated from our tribal identity than the remaining indigenous peoples of the contiguous 48 States and Alaska can be removed from their origins and classified as minorities in this country.

We can accept the misnomer and call ourselves American Indians because we are secure in our identity as defined by our tribal origin, our history, and the reluctant recognition of a government that has replaced our own. Through historic error and oversight, certain terms came to us and were accepted by our ancestors for purposes of clarity and convenience to allow the pale strangers to distinguish themselves from us. No tribal person needed further definition since identity was rooted in one's existence and was inseparable from it.

Now we must question whether the purposes of clarity and convenience have been served too well, so much so that the demarcation lines separating American Indians into distinct tribal entities have become blurred and are in danger of obliteration.

Once our people were forced to accept an oversimplification of our societal roles; now it is our burden to define, distinguish, and delimit the factors underlying our unique identity, as well as the diversity within that identity.

We can neither explore the present nor plan for the future without an examination, however cursory, of the past and of the recent history of this land and its people.

The number of Indian tribes has been estimated to have been about 2,000 when the permanent establishment of Plymouth Colony began colonization of the Eastern seaboard. This number is based on the work of linguistic scholars who claim to have identified that many languages in use on this continent at that time. One hundred and fifty years later, as the Republic began to flourish amidst the rhetoric of Paine and Jefferson, unknown numbers of tribes suffered extinction from violence and disease. One hundred years later, triumph turned to ashes on grassy western plains as the victories of Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Gall, and Two Moons mobilized the guns of an angered America, and the last scattered bands were brought under reservation rule. By the close of the 19th century about 400 tribes--a total population of approximately 100,000--remained.

Tribes differed in culture and language, and those differences have been maintained to the present day. However, from the beginning, U.S. Government Indian policy sought to ignore tribal differences but recognized tribal sovereignty in the use and negotiation of treaties. Each tribe experienced common problems with the U.S. Government: the Government wanted tribal land, the tribe resisted, the Government insisted with as much force as was necessary, a treaty was negotiated, and the tribe moved onto a reservation. In 1871, Congress disallowed further use of treaties with the Indians. Special legislation and executive orders channeled through the Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs became the instrument for determining Indian policy.

With tribes contained on reservations, the Government sought a general policy for all Indians. Every aspect of Indian life was now under Government control, with the ultimate goal being the destruction of tribal society and the assimilation of tribal people into the general stream of American life. Ironically, the reservation system frustrated its designers and proved to be a reenforcement of that which it sought to destroy--tribalism.

Greed for land continued, and an expanding Nation's eyes fixed on the reservation lands. In 1887, the Dawes Act sought to break up tribal structures and remove tribal lands from tribal control, placing them in the hands of individual Indians. In reality, the Dawes Act was a thinly veiled scheme to take over Indian lands, isolate the individual Indian from the protection of tribal society, and thus eliminate the Indian "problem." It did succeed in divesting the Indian people of 90 million acres of land, but failed to destroy the tribes. Dispossessed and dislocated, the landless Indians regrouped, clinging to their tribal distinctions of culture and language.

Tribes able to resist allotment were subjected to other assaults on their societal structures. Education of Indians, a right guaranteed by every treaty in exchange for land, became a weapon in the hands of the Government. As early as 1842, the Government had established 37 boarding schools for Indian children, a device to separate Indian children from the influences of tribal life. School administrators implemented Government policy by forcibly substituting white values for Indian mores. The schools were located hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles from the children's homes. Tribal languages were forbidden. Yet somehow the children managed to cling to their tribal customs.

The administration of reservation affairs was controlled by whites. Agencies were staffed by civil service employees, and corruption was commonplace. Monies appropriated to meet basic human needs were siphoned by unscrupulous agents. Traditional tribal leaders were denied the right to participate in their own government, and the Indian people were not allowed to practice their traditional religion. Government policymakers were determined to make farmers out of Indian men, and Indian men adamantly refused to comply. Deprived of their traditional economy based on hunting and fishing, Indian men sank into idleness. But the people did not abandon their tribes.

By the 1920's, conditions had become so deplorable that the Secretary of the Interior authorized a special commission to examine Indian life. In 1928 the Merriam Report recommended numerous steps, the most significant ones urging the Government to support the tribal structure for those Indians who wished to "live in the old way."

In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was passed to attempt to right some of what had been wrongly done to Indians. The IRA has come under severe criticism from some quarters. Whatever its inadequacies, this legislation did sanction the reestablishment of a form of self-government.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act in 1934 represented another attempt to address the critical educational needs of Indian people. However, local school administrators quickly began to divert Indian education monies into their general school funds where they were used to further enrich already advantaged non-Indian students.

For almost 20 years, Indian policy was influenced by the essentially favorable Merriam Report. The 83d Congress (1953) made a fundamental change with Concurrent House Resolution 108, which declared that the United States would abolish Federal supervision over the tribes as soon as possible and would subject Indians to the same laws, privileges, and responsibilities as other citizens. Thus "termination" began. Fifteen days after the passage of HCR 108, Public Law 280 was passed, extending jurisdiction over offenses committed by or against Indians to the States of California, Minnesota (except Red Lake), Nebraska, Oregon (except Warm Springs), and Wisconsin (except Menominees).

Tribal leaders became outspoken critics of termination, and strong, cohesive opposition to this new policy was aroused. Faced with imminent tribal dissolution, Indians began to resist. In 1958, termination lost its most fanatic supporter, Senator Watkins, the Utah Mormon, and more reasonable heads began to prevail.

The foregoing story of our people and the recounting of their struggle to survive cannot be told too often, for we cannot forget the adversities faced by all our tribes as they moved from a position of self-sufficient autonomy to the status of "domestic dependent nations." Our legacy is the preservation of our tribal societies. With the special vision that the lessons of the past have given us, we must consider the status of the tribes and the education of their members.

The Government's responsibility toward Indians included protection as well as certain rights. The Government interpreted protection to mean that it had the right to internal control over tribal affairs although the courts consistently held an opposing view. Tribes retain authority over large areas of criminal and civil law, as well as over matters of tribal membership, inheritance, tribal taxation, tribal property, domestic relations, the form of tribal government, and laws, customs, and decisions of the proper tribal governing authorities. However, education has been a concern of the Bureau of Indian Affairs with minimal tribal participation.

In 1792 Cornplanter said: "Father, we ask you to teach us." President Washington warmly replied that it was only a matter of working out the details. Nothing came of it. The educational promises in many treaties and agreements have never been fulfilled; the details have not been worked out.

In 1969 the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education in a report begun by Sen. Robert Kennedy and completed by Sen. Edward Kennedy expressed shock at what it had discovered about Indian education. But it also noted that others before had been shocked and added gloomily, in response to the magnitude of the problem, that "others after us will likely be shocked, too."

The Indian Education Act of 1972 was enacted in response to some of the needs expressed by the subcommittee's report. The legislative intent was to involve more Indian people in educational programs at the local level, but it is too early to measure its effectiveness because of insufficient data.

Public Law 93-638, the Indian Self Determination and Education Assistance Act was passed in 1976. In part, this bill addresses specific problems concerning the Johnson-O'Malley school construction provisions and, significantly, the strengthening of tribal governments. Such legislation augurs well for the future of Indian education if the act's intent is followed to completion. Since educational programs under previous legislation circumvented tribal control by funding programs under the aegis of community entities, these programs were not only designed without tribal goals in mind but also did not reflect mutual trust between the Government and the tribe. They were designed to meet general educational needs shared by all poverty-level people. Hence, once a need was met, the program and governmental responsibility ceased to exist. In diametric opposition to that idea, the special relationship between the Government and the tribes is permanent, continuing, and unique.

As active American Indian women, we submit our report and recommendations on Indian education. Such a report would note diversity among the tribes and would frame its recommendations to fit the irregular contours of their communities. The discredited Government policy of forcing 482 tribes, bands, and Alaskan native villages to fit themselves into Washingtonian molds would be discarded. In its place, educational policies emanating from tribal assessments and decisions would be substituted. We have isolated the following issues and recommendations from the complexities that surround the educational question.

BIA--PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR INDIAN EDUCATION

Issue

The American Indian Law Center at the University of New Mexico found that 80 treaties between the U.S. Government and various Indian tribes stated that education should be provided to the Indians in compensation for land cessions. Yet the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Office of Education regulation 176.15, "Coordination with Bureau of Indian Affairs Grants-in-Aid," stipulates that BIA grants-in-aid funds will be considered as a "supplementary" rather than primary source of financial aid for American Indian students.

It is apparent that the existing BIA policy conflicts with the established trust relationship of the Federal Government's responsibility to provide education for American Indian tribes. This historic responsibility requires the Federal Government, through the Department of the Interior, BIA, to meet the commitments established by treaty and assume the basic responsibility for education of the American Indian tribes.

Recommendation

The BIA must assume and retrieve the primary responsibility for the delivery of all educational services, including student financial aid. Assumption of full responsibility will promote and reinforce the inherent sovereign status of American Indian tribal governments through the recognition of established treaties between the U.S. Government and the federally recognized tribes.

TRIBAL ADVICE ON BIA EDUCATION POLICY

Issue

There is a need for systematic and consistent input from the federally recognized tribes to the BIA Education Division to give advice to the director and staff on all policy aspects of Indian education, including scholarships; early childhood education; elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education; special education; vocational, adult, and career education; and planning, research, and future reorganizations.

This systematic approach would provide programmatic and policy support to the Education Division, as well as promote tribal decisionmaking and input into educational concerns--two factors lacking in the past. The BIA's past assumption of unilateral policymaking is an error in basic function. The function of the BIA is to provide services and to implement policy as the tribes determine.

Recommendation

The BIA Education Division must seek systematic consultation from the tribes on all policy aspects of Indian education. Two-way communication from and to the tribes must be implemented expediently.

BIA CENTRAL OFFICE RESPONSIBILITY FOR POSTSECONDARY PROGRAMS

Issue

At present, area offices and agencies have assumed nearly total responsibility for administering and making decisions regarding BIA higher educational expenditures and grants to the tribes in their areas, resulting in inequity and in consistent policies in the administration of postsecondary monies and programs. For instance, there is an apparent inequitable disbursement of funds to the Aberdeen area schools in that only two schools in South Dakota, Sinte Gleske Community College at Rosebud and the Lakota Higher Education Center at Pine Ridge, are receiving funds from the monies allocated for the Aberdeen area office. It is a great concern that there are eight other tribally chartered postsecondary schools in the Aberdeen area that not only meet the BIA eligibility criteria but are also providing imperative educational programs for the tribes. These other Aberdeen area tribally chartered colleges are at Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, Fort Berthold, Turtle Mountain, Sisseton-Wahpeton, Omaha, Santee, and Winnebago.

Coupled with this is the channel of authority making BIA scholarship officers responsible to the various area offices. No section of the central office now has authority over the various areas' grant-in-aid programs, resulting in grant-in-aid programs having a wide variance from area to area. Most area offices have insufficient staff members to provide the followup services needed by most American Indian scholarship grantees.

Recommendation

The BIA Central Office, through its Division of Postsecondary Education, should provide equitable services and monies to those tribes within an area office desiring and operating postsecondary educational programs. Policies with regard to overall grant-in-aid and scholarship programs should be consistent, centrally coordinated, and interpreted by the Division of Postsecondary Education to the tribes in each area office. Where variances arise, all tribes in a particular area would have a voice in modifying the policies.

MODEL ENABLING LEGISLATION FOR TRIBALLY CHARTERED COLLEGES AND ACCREDITATION FROM EXISTING INDIAN COLLEGES

Issue

Numerous tribes are providing local postsecondary educational programs, centers, and colleges for their members to meet their tribal economic and cultural needs. Tribes that wish to initiate such postsecondary programs should have access to model legislation that would help them achieve their goals more rapidly.

Tribal colleges seeking accreditation of courses have often had difficulty obtaining help from nearby non-Indian institutions of higher education. Traveling about to seek accreditation and course approval often involves large expenses.

Recommendation

It is recommended that a model ordinance be developed for tribal governments that wish to establish and charter a specific tribal college, to seek accreditation, and to certify students who complete specified courses of study. Pending accreditation, it is recommended that tribal colleges seek course approval and course credit from existing Indian postsecondary schools (such as Haskell Indian Junior College or Navajo Community College) as an option to the present system.

COMPREHENSIVE TRIBAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Issue

All tribes do not now have full authority in fiscal matters and other educational policy decisions for their tribal members. Individuals and organizations not responsible to the elected tribal governments frequently assume these tasks, thus circumventing the tribal governments. Another result has been a proliferation of education committees, boards, and organizations, with overlapping programs and priorities, which often do not pay adequate attention to tribal priorities.

Recommendation

To ensure tribal sovereignty and decisionmaking in all aspects of education, tribal divisions or departments of education are suggested. These divisions would coordinate and consolidate all educational programs within the jurisdiction, including early childhood, elementary, secondary, and postsecondary programs, scholarships, and career education programs. Such programs as Title I, Title IV, Title VII, JOM tribal colleges, contract schools, etc., could then be coordinated by the tribal division of education to avoid duplicating programs and circumventing tribal authority in fiscal decisionmaking. Parental involvement would continue to be stressed but would be within the context of tribal control and authority.

Each tribe should develop its own structural mechanisms for their departments of education, including provisions for selection of members of the tribal divisions, staggered terms, methods of enabling legislation by tribal resolution, or amendments to the tribal bylaws and constitutions.

TRIBAL INPUT FOR ADEQUATE FUNDING

Issue

The inequities in the BIA funding system are apparent in the inconsistent distribution of existing Bureau funds. The amount presently available is not sufficient for distribution to both BIA postsecondary educational institutions and all tribally chartered colleges.

The developing tribal colleges have a great need for financial assistance. Their success or failure is largely contingent on whether money is available to them.

Annual BIA budget requests cover BIA-operated schools but do not now support the tribal institutions. Since these schools are not presently represented in the budgetary process, a system should be implemented to allow them to make known their needs.

Recommendation

Financing of both types of schools, BIA and tribally chartered colleges, should be based on budget estimates submitted by the individual schools, and consolidated into one line item on the annual BIA budget requests. The budgeting process should include five stages and involve representatives from the schools in all stages:

1. Budget estimates from the schools to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
2. Priority and budget adjustments as determined by the Office of Management and Budget after full consideration of needs.
3. Testimony by school representatives before the Congressional Appropriations Committee.
4. Allocation of appropriated funds to the central office for the Division of Postsecondary Schools.
5. Monitoring of the disbursements of the funds from the Central Office by direct allocation to the Bureau-operated schools, and by providing grants or contracts to the tribes for use by the tribal community colleges to promote the intent of P.L. 93-638.

Sufficient amounts of monies must be requested by the BIA for full planning and operation of the two types of postsecondary schools.

Through supportive testimony by the tribes and institutional representatives, a true reflection of postsecondary educational financial needs could be presented to the Office of Management and Budget. This process would insure that tribal representatives would be involved in budgeting considerations and would give the tribes a measure of control pursuant to Indian self-determination and in keeping with the spirit and intent of P.L. 93-638.

PRECOLLEGE PROGRAMS

Issue

There is a demonstrated need for precollege programs that will adequately prepare Indian students to be successful in college. These precollege programs should stress areas of study that are critical to tribal needs, for instance, math, natural resources, and science.

There is a concern that certain presently funded precollege programs may not meet tribal needs.

Recommendation

The BIA Division of Education must plan for quality precollege programs designed to prepare students to meet critical tribal needs. The BIA must require that schools tailor their precollege programs to match student and tribal needs, as defined by the tribes. The BIA must establish a mechanism for independent audit and evaluation (to be performed by an Indian team of educators) of certain presently funded precollege programs. The results of this audit and evaluation must be submitted to the affected tribes for their assessment of program effectiveness and utility in terms of tribal-specific educational priorities.

Such information relating to the present precollegiate program funding (not now under BIA Central Office authority) must be included in the BIA's postsecondary information booklet.

INSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENT

Issue

In this time of declining overall student enrollments and diminishing funds for the Nation's colleges and universities, colleges and universities are inclined to recruit Indian students and to initiate special Indian programs that bring with them stipends, indirect costs, and other designated monies.

These colleges and universities have not, for the most part, shown institutional commitment to the Indian students in terms of scholarship support or guidance and counseling services. The institutions have not, for the most part, shown respect for tribal governments or tribal cultures because they do not seek tribal endorsement, input, or evaluation of special Indian programs, nor do they often acknowledge the validity of American Indian languages, philosophy, fine arts, or other subject matter.

These colleges and universities are frequently careless in their methods and criteria of determining who is eligible for receiving monies and programs designated for American Indians.

Another concern is that colleges and universities do not often institutionalize Indian programs but depend solely on outside "soft" monies; this compounds the failure to respond.

Recommendations

The BIA must develop specific criteria for institutional commitment and quality before awarding colleges and universities higher education program funds intended for federally recognized American Indian students.

These criteria must include:

1. An institution's demonstrated plans and capacity for institutionalizing Indian programs, including the hiring of Indian faculty and other personnel.
2. Evidence of scholarship support.
3. Evidence of tribal input, support, endorsement, and evaluation of special Indian programs.
4. Evidence of respect for the validity of American Indian languages, philosophy, fine arts, and other curriculums.
5. A mechanism for identifying eligible American Indians for program services that is consistent with BIA eligibility criteria. These criteria must also apply to faculty and other staff members hired to work in special Indian programs.

The BIA is instructed to request the tribes, or a group mandated by the tribes, to develop other criteria for institutional commitment. The criteria developed by the BIA must not supersede criteria developed by specific tribal peoples for local tribally controlled institutions of postsecondary education.

RESEARCH ASSISTANCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF TRIBES' COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION PLANS (re: P.L. 93-638)

Issue

All tribes do not now have comprehensive education plans. Educators and officials from State and Federal agencies have taken over decision-making without informing and educating tribal councils and tribal education committees of new strategies for tribal control of education in the local, State, and Federal contexts so that tribes themselves can effect changes, as well as develop needs, goals, delivery methods, and services, for Indian education.

With a few exceptions, States appear unwilling to reevaluate educational goals and services in terms defined by tribes. Federal officials tend to relate to educational organizations that do not have tribal sanction and that have not taken the time to inform and interface with tribal councils.

Tribes that wish to contract under P.L. 93-638 and those that are affected by it must be informed of ways to develop their own educational plans.

Recommendation

Research is needed on methods to assist tribes in developing and implementing comprehensive educational plans that form an integral part of the tribal function. Model plans need to be developed that will target educational needs of small and large tribes. Consideration must be given to the status of P.L. 280 and to tribal reaction to that status. Model legislation must be developed so that tribes that may wish to choose this option may do so.

This assistance is necessary for tribes that wish to contract under P.L. 93-638, or for tribes that are affected by the intent of P.L. 93-638.

FUNDING FOR GRADUATE EDUCATION

Issue

There has been an average yearly increase of 93.5 percent of Indian graduate students during the past 5 years. This increase reflects Indian student commitment to respond professionally to increasingly urgent tribal needs to react to various pressures, including contracting of programs, threats to their water, land, and natural resource rights, and compounded litigations and encroachments.

Funds are not now available from the BIA to support the estimated 5,000 eligible Indian graduate students. BIA statistics, as of December 1974, point out a backlog of at least 2,000 unfilled graduate requests for financial assistance since FY 1972.

Recommendation

The BIA must request appropriations as projected in the following table:

TABLE 1

5-YEAR PROJECTION OF COST PER STUDENT

Academic year	No. of graduate students	Total annual cost
1976-77	1,000	$10,000,000.00
1977-78	1,500	15,000,000.00
1978-79	2,377	23,770,000.00
1979-80	2,662	26,620,000.00
1980-81	3,282	32,820,000.00
TOTALS	10,821	$108,210,000.00

ASSOCIATION OF INDIAN BOARDS OF REGENTS

Issue

There is a concern that the Bureau of Indian Affairs' postsecondary institutions develop a more cohesive and consistent policy agreement with the Bureau of Indian Affairs' central office because line authority now involves the BIA central office. A sound working relationship must be developed between the BIA Division of Postsecondary Schools and the regents of the Indian postsecondary colleges.

Recommendation

Boards of regents for all schools should enter into memoranda of undertanding with the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs with regard to the duties and responsibilities of the board and the school administration in all phases of school operation and management, such as curriculum, personnel policies, administrative management, student affairs, housing, and other services. To create and maintain a sound working relationship with the division of postsecondary schools, it is recommended that an association of Indian boards of regents be organized and chartered as a nonprofit organization that is open to all those who wish to become members.

TRIBAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IAIA REGENTS

Issue

Members of the Board of Regents for Haskell Indian Junior College and Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute are selected by tribes of the areas they represent, while members of the Council of Regents of the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) are selected and appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs without tribal advice.

The selection of IAIA regents ignores the concept of participatory decisionmaking by the tribes. Tribal Divisions of Education and tribal education committees know the best qualified persons in the arts to recommend to the tribal councils. They should recommend IAIA regents to the BIA commissioner.

Recommendation

The Commissioner of the BIA should seek the advice of the tribes in selecting and making appointments to the IAIA Council of regents. This method of selection should be reflected in IAIA bylaws and constitution. Furthermore, tribal representation should be made on a regional basis. There also should be a provision for a rotating council of regents to distribute experience and tribal input more equitably.

RESEARCH ADAPTING INSTRUCTION TO CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Issue

Learning styles among varying Indian and Eskimo cultures differ. Teaching methodologies do not often reflect this diversity. There is a need to study how Indians and Eskimos learn and what the unique intellectual strengths of diverse Indian peoples are. For instance, instructional strategies should be adapted to match the high spatial abilities of Eskimos.

Research should be conducted on the traditional roles of elders and "holy medicine persons" as teachers and on the impact of native languages on these teaching strategies.

Recommendation

Research must be initiated by the Research Division of the Office of Education, BIA on: (1) how Indian people learn; (2) the intellectual strengths of persons from the diverse Indian tribes; (3) the traditional instructional roles of elders and "medicine people"; and (4) the impact of Indian languages on the teaching and learning process.

This research information should be utilized to assist the BIA educational system in improving teaching and learning. This information should be shared with various interested agencies of the Federal Government.

CONTINUING EDUCATION AND INSERVICE TRAINING FOR BIA EDUCATION PERSONNEL

Issue

The educational personnel of the BIA at all levels may not be current with all aspects of the changing and contemporary educational arena, with the result that these new strategies are not benefiting Indian students in BIA schools.

The capacity of tribes to develop educational policy is rapidly accelerating, with the expected result that BIA educational personnel must keep abreast of new directions, as determined by tribes.

Recommendation

The BIA Central Office Education Division must plan and provide inservice programs and workshops in continuing education for all educational personnel, including top and middle level administrators, teachers, counselors, psychologists, dormitory managers, and other supportive personnel. This systematic inservice continuing education program should cover such areas as: (1) review and analysis of educational policies and resolutions endorsed by the National Indian Education Association, by the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, and by the National Congress of American

Indians; (2) updating all education legislation and other minority legislation affecting Indians; and (3) updating all current policies and programs of the National Institute of Education, the Office of Education DHEW, the National Science Foundation, and the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education. Curriculums should include such areas as production and utilization (R & D), competency-based education, new strategies in multilingual education and special education, as well as new techniques in teaching and guidance counseling.

Indian educators competent in the various fields must be utilized in conducting such continuing education and inservice programs.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

Recommendation

The three major agencies responsible for American Indian special education--the Office of Gifted and Talented-BEH, OIE-HEW, and the BIA-DOI--must work together to develop precise cost figures for:

1. Researching the criteria for the identification of gifted and talented American Indian children who are members of tribes in the following linguisitic and cultural geographic regions of the United States:

   a. The Eskimo and Aleut of Alaska
   b. The Alaskan Indian tribes and the Indians of the northwest coast
   c. The plateau tribes
   d. The Great Basin tribes
   e. The Indians of California
   f. The southwestern tribes
   g. The Indians of the northern plains
   h. The southern plains tribes
   i. The Great Lakes tribes
   j. The northwestern tribes
   k. The tribes of the Southeast

2. The provision of culturally specific model programs for gifted and talented American Indian children in the above 11 linguistic and cultural geographic regions;

3. The provision of culturally specific model programs for the physically handicapped and learning-disabled American Indian children in the above 11 linguistic and cultural geographic regions;

4. The development of evaluation procedures and the encouragement of their incorporation in all programs for the physically handicapped, learning-disabled, and gifted and talented

American Indian children in the 11 linguistic and cultural regions; and

5. The development and implementation of preservice and inservice training programs for special education teachers of American Indian children.

After precise cost figures are developed, the three agencies must submit line-item budget requests for appropriations to the Office of Management and Budget and to the U.S. Congress. The implementation of the above five programs should follow as soon as monies are appropriated.

A RESEARCH COUNCIL--BIA

Issue

There is a need for an American Indian Research Council sponsored by the BIA that would give advice to the BIA regarding research needs and priorities in the field of Indian education. Research in Indian education by qualified Indians has been neglected in the BIA. Educational research by and for Indians has been seriously neglected at the National Institute of Education. There is concern that there is no staff person at NIE who is a member of a federally recognized tribe.

Recommendation

The BIA must immediately establish and sponsor an American Indian Research Council composed of qualified American Indian scholars and educators who will, after response from the tribes, determine, establish priorities for, and initiate research (knowledge production and utilization) in the field of education. The Director of Education, BIA, will facilitate interaction with the National Institute of Education, the National Science Foundation, and appropriate offices in the Office of Education, DHEW. Liaisons also should be developed with the National American Indian Research and Development Center for Mental Health located in Portland, Oregon.

BIA FINANCING OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT OF TRIBALLY CHARTERED COLLEGES--SUPPORT OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMS FOR TRIBES' COLLEGES

Issue

At present, the financing of tribally chartered colleges serving members of federally recognized tribes is inequitable and insufficient. There is no comprehensive financing plan to provide basic support for the 19 tribes now operating colleges: Rosebud Sioux, Pine Ridge Sioux, Sisseton-Wahepeton Sioux, Cheyenne River Sioux, Standing Rock Sioux, Santee Sioux, Omaha Winnebago, Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Lummi, Blackfeet, Navajo, Tanana Chiefs, Inupiat, Devils Lake Sioux, Hualapai, Havasupai, Keweenaw Bay Chippewa, and Fort Berthold (Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara). For these tribes' postsecondary education college programs, there is no budget and no request for appropriations for next year and the next 5 years.

Flaming Rainbow at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the college serving the Cherokee, is also lacking BIA operational support.

The BIA also has responsibility to assist in developmental postsecondary programs. The following tribes are currently planning tribally chartered colleges: Mississippi Band of Choctaw, Northern Cheyenne, Crow, Fort Belknap, Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux, and White Mountain Apache. PRIME (Planning Resources in Minority Education) at WICHE (Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education), supported by the Ford Foundation, is currently assisting these tribes in their planning and developmental programs, as well as several tribes from the preceding list: Cheyenne River Sioux, Lummi, Blackfeet, Tanana Chiefs, Inupiat, Devils Lake Sioux, Hualapai, Havasupai, Keweenaw Bay Chippewa and Flaming Rainbow. Should foundation support cease, PRIME would not be able to respond to technical assistance requests from these 16 tribes wishing to provide onsite postsecondary programs for their tribal members. The BIA needs to assume this responsibility.

Recommendation

The Bureau of Indian Affairs must request sufficient monies to provide basic support to all operational tribally chartered colleges. The BIA must request sufficient monies to provide planning and developmental support to all tribes wishing to initiate onreservation postsecondary education college programs.

The BIA division of postsecondary education must develop a plan to provide technical assistance to tribes requesting help in the development of reservation college programs.

SUPPORT STAFF FOR POSTSECONDARY SCHOOLS IN POSTSECONDARY DIVISION OF EDUCATION

Issue

There is a need for a Division of Postsecondary Education in the Central Office, BIA that would have two staff assistants to provide full, comprehensive services and technical assistance to the approximately 15 tribally chartered colleges, to the 8 tribes that are currently in the planning stages of developing tribally chartered colleges, as well as to the bureau schools: Haskell, Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI), and IAIA.

BIA focus and attention historically has been lacking in the field of tribally controlled postsecondary institutional support. There has been an apparent assumption that all eligible postsecondary students would leave their reservations to attend non-Indian colleges or would attend BIA postsecondary institutions in small numbers. There has been a lack of support in the area offices for tribally controlled postsecondary institutions. The recent groundswell of interest in postsecondary education is evidenced by the tribes' mandates that higher priority in the BIA central office be given to this educational need. This groundswell is growing and is not expected to peak for the next 5 years.

Recommendation

A division of postsecondary schools in the Central Office of Indian Education, BIA, must be created to serve both schools operated by the Bureau and those supported in whole or in part by the Bureau. While there are problems common to both groups of schools, each group feels the need of an office within the Division to address its particular needs. It is, therefore, recommended that the Director of the Division have two staff assistants--one to act as liaison and advocate for the Bureau-operated schools and another to act in a similar capacity for the tribally chartered colleges.

TEACHER TRAINING--INSERVICE AND PRESERVICE

Issue

Some 7,000 elementary and secondary teachers in the country teach a preponderance of Indian children each day. Only a small proportion of these teachers are American Indian. The majority of these 7,000 teachers do not have the competencies required to teach Indian children. These special competencies are not a part of the curriculums of schools of education. Furthermore, existing teacher training programs have not been evaluated in terms of their relevance for teaching tribal children.

There is little modification of some certification requirements for Indian teachers already competent and qualified to teach Indian languages, fine arts, history, etc.

Recommendation

The BIA must encourage and support quality credentialed inservice and preservice programs appropriate for teachers of Indian children. At the same time, teacher training at tribally chartered colleges and at locally based training programs should be supported and encouraged. Special liaisons should be made with teacher corps to encourage locally based programs.

Tribes should be encouraged to delineate teacher competencies required to match cultural and linguistic needs.

There must be modification of some certification requirements for eminent Indians already competent to teach certain subject matter.

Existing teacher training programs, both preservice and inservice, must be evaluated with input from the tribes in the context of cultural relevance.

A STUDENT PROFILE--RESEARCH NEEDS

Issue

There are currently few statistics on who our Indian students are. The BIA 1975 Statistics Concerning Indian Education provides us with two figures--190,220 and 208,607--for school children ages 5 to 18. We do not have accurate figures on the number of Indian children in Head Start, day care, and other early childhood programs. We must have statistics on tribal members over 18 who are attending or who wish to attend tribal colleges and other career education, adult education, and vocational education programs. We are interested primarily in actual and potential students who are members of federally recognized tribes or those students who are eligible because their parents are members of such tribes.

Recommendation

The Research Division of the Office of Education, BIA, must initiate research to compile data and statistics that will provide information relating to the profile, characteristics, age range, and numbers of actual and potential Indian students who are eligible for various educational services. This data base is essential to planning future Indian educational programs and to plan budgets for submission to the Office of Management and Budget.

STUDENT CHOICE

Issue

American Indian students at the graduate level are mature persons capable of making intelligent choices with regard to the selection of programs and institutions that best suit individual needs.

Recommendation

The BIA must strongly support the principle of student choice between the specialized institutionally based professional career programs (e.g., the University of New Mexico law program, the Harvard and Pennsylvania State education administration programs) and the individualized graduate scholarship programs (e.g., American Indian Scholarships, Inc.). Both are essential and provide opportunities for students to choose programs that suit their needs.

ACCREDITATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

Issue

American Indian studies programs are not recognized as legitimate academic departments but are viewed as appendages to the academic structure. This results from a non-Indian perspective of Indian education that detrimentally fragments and distorts Indian cultures both in a historical and a contemporary sense. The Council on Postsecondary Education (COPE) is mandated to "foster and maintain strength, excellence and diversity" in American postsecondary education. Its mandate includes the responsibility to review, evaluate, and publicly designate, through a recognition process, reputable and responsible accrediting bodies to coordinate their activities, and to reevaluate bodies periodically to help ensure that they maintain an acceptable level of performance.

Recommendation

The BIA must establish liaison with COPE to initiate changes in the accreditation of quality American Indian studies programs. At the same time, BIA must assist American Indian studies programs to strive for quality and integrity in their philosophies, goals, and curriculums by setting forth academic standards that will lead to accreditation and academic legitimacy. The BIA must sponsor further dialog among Indian educators so that the issues of centralization versus decentralization of Indian studies in relation to departments within the university system may be analyzed and resolved.

These recommendations, a new approach to our educational issues, are presented for your serious consideration. We must begin to approah our problems in terms of our tribal structure. The proposed tribal education plan recognizes the authority and autonomy of tribal self-government.

Education is an internal affair. For 200 years American Indian tribes have been denied the right to participate in our educational concerns; now we must assert our autonomy.

Pervasive forces erode the foundation of our tribes. In recent years, Congress has become responsive to the needs of all of its minority citizens, and general legislation has been enacted that embraces people of all colors or, alternatively, all people below a certain economic level. Programs are administered by agencies and institutions for those members of this society who have been denied equal participation in its workings and who are culturally deprived. Such legislation answers a critical need. American Indians remain a people apart from the nation of immigrants--unique in our identity, unique in our needs, unique in our right. A body of Federal Indian law exists that can "neither be justified nor understood except in terms of existence of Indian tribes." As tribal people we must defend ourselves against those who seek to weaken us, whether by design or default. Indian education belongs in the hands of the tribes.

We cannot grow careless about our legacy. As matrilineal people, we, American Indian women, carriers of our tribal credentials, are privileged to have the responsibility of safeguarding the heritage of those who will follow us.

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TRANSITION FROM THE RESERVATION TO AN URBAN SETTING AND THE CHANGING ROLES OF AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

Agnes F. Williams

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I was asked to prepare this paper, immediate questions arose as to the usefulness of this research to the American Indian people. This opportunity has given Indian women a chance to grow and develop in a personal and professional way and to examine their own experiences. Indian women met and interacted to develop the research agenda. This was of great benefit for me, as these women are my peers and elders in this sociological field of study, and I would not otherwise have had the opportunity to begin to develop relationships. This interaction and its further development are important aspects of this particular research effort.

Sharing among professionals today is neither valued nor realized in a practical sense. Competition is encouraged, and information is often withheld or just not offered. Indian professionals experience a developmental process. Because we are formally educated by non-Indians and/or because we are individually singled out for our expertise in Indian affairs, we are expected to know all the answers and never expected to need support or help. We are often isolated in our individual fields with minimal Indian support, few opportunities to learn from other Indians' experiences, or little occasion to offer what we have to Indian communities. These circumstances limit our development, and we are often not given functions in which we can discover and develop our own resources--and develop ourselves--collectively and in an Indian way.

In developing this paper my knowledge has increased, and, more important, my circle has grown. I have benefited from people's willingness to share themselves. Special appreciation goes to my partner, Paul, to my family, and to my friends for their continual support. Special acknowledgment is extended to Phyllis Cross, Evelyn Blanchard, Bea Medicine, Jo Ellen Archanbault, Clara Sue Kidwell, and Tillie Walker, all of whom shared themselves and their information. Nya-weh.

INTRODUCTION

> A-ten-sic, the sky mother, fell to earth through a flaming hole in the sky. A flock of birds, seeing her plight, flew up to ease her fall. She landed on the back of a tortoise. With the mud from between his claws the tortoise built the earth on his back. A-ten-sic gave birth to two sons, the spirit of good and the spirit of evil. And thus the earth was born. [Hodinonshonni Creation Legend (Hall, 1976, pp. 10-11)]

The role of the Native female of the North American continent has early beginnings. Her role has been defined consistently by her respective tribal group in terms that reflect both her importance in the scheme of nature and her relationships with her fellow human beings. She was, is, and will continue to be the carrier of the race. Within tribal societies her role was defined in this unique way and in accordance with the specific functions she performed in her community. Her characteristics as an individual blended with her responsibilities as a member of her respective groups. Her personal strength perpetuated the high group esteem exemplified by the extended family, the clan, and the tribal group. As the conditions of her environment changed, so did her role. Yet, the basic spiritual personality of the American Indian female remains constant and is passed on to future generations.

Throughout history, society's view of the American Indian female has shifted from time to time; different communities have created their own role models for women. Societies that are nonhumanistic in nature have judged the Native woman in terms of their own subjective model, rather than discovering what she "is" (Blanchard, 1977). It has been extremely difficult for the American Indian woman to retain her uniqueness in the face of overwhelming pressures to change. Such a complete and final change would never be realized. Nonhumanistic societies can neither understand nor accept this. The unique personality of the American Indian woman and the values reflected in her tribal group have been shown disrespect and have been violated or ignored. These values have not been eliminated, but they have been weakened by those who judge what an Indian woman should be in their attempts to define the American Indian woman of today. The transition from the reservation to an urban setting and the changing roles of the American Indian woman are part of this phenomenon.

When looking at roles in transition, a historical perspective is of primary importance. A description of a tribal group provides the reference from which the Native woman's unique traditional role prior to contact can be scrutinized. Once contact was made between Indian and non-Indian and the different technological and political complexities emerged, the Indians began to loose their land. With the loss of land, forced migrations, the flourishing of a cash economy, and the introduction of alcohol into the Indian communities, the traditional Indian groups were broken down. In some cases, new non-Indian groups replaced traditional tribal units. The Indian woman's traditional role eventually was diminished.

Various actions by the Federal Government, by Christian missionaries, and by "unscrupulous settlers" (Prucha, 1970) contributed to the massive changes that Indian people have experienced. Native people have always been "self-actualizing" (Maslow, 71:299), self-determining people. The colonists initially recognized this quality and respected the Native's existence, dealing with them as independent, sovereign nations (Brophy and Aberle, 1966). Even though non-Indians later decided to ignore this fact, they did not eradicate the "Indianness" of Native people. In 1977, this basic personality of all Native people is still alive and well and is seeking full realization. The transition from the reservation to the urban setting and the changes in the roles of the American Indian woman are viewed in terms of group dynamics. The breakdown and the buildup of Indian groups on the reservations and in the cities have affected the complexion of the role and, more important, have caused difficulties in the realization of the woman's Indianness. As more Indian populations are moving to urban areas the development of new Indian groups and the unity of all Native people is progressing. The trend toward the self-actualization of Indian people and the full realization of the Indian woman's role has begun to be recognized and realized once again.

PRECONTACT

> Many, many years ago on the banks of the Oswego River, near its mouth, our people, the People of the Longhouse, "sprang from the Earth." As time passed the Hodinonshonni grew large in number. They were prosperous and happy. Because of their large numbers it became increasingly difficult to meet the needs of all the people. The hunters had to travel great distances to find game necessary for their survival. The clearing of land for planting extended far beyond the original planting grounds.
>
> The hunters returned with stories of great lands, far off, that could easily sustain the people. The need to move was obvious.
>
> A decision was made to move and to separate . . . this separation led to the five original groups . . . the Five Nations Confederacy . . . .
>
> As time passed, the people changed. They began to act hateful to each other. They began to kill each other. The people became fearful of one another. At times, they said, some of them even practiced cannibalism. The people were sad.
>
> A very special man was sent to the Hodinonshonni. He brought with him a Message of Peace . . . . His message was so powerful that it caused great changes in the Hodinonshonni.
>
> . . . While he was giving his Message of peace to the Mohawks, he was joined by Hiawatha . . . .
>
> Prior to arriving at the Mohawk villages . . . Hiawatha began to use strings of wampum shells to remind himself of some very special thoughts that came to him while he was in mourning.
>
> . . . The Peacemaker recognized that Hiawatha was a very special man, and he asked him to be his companion as he traveled to the other villages of the Hodinonshonni.
>
> . . . In some cases their efforts were frustrating in that certain groups and individuals were not ready to immediately accept the change.

> However, there came a time when all of the leaders gathered on the northeast shore of the Onondaga Lake. The *Great Law of Peace* was recited for all to hear . . . a message of unity and peace that resulted in the coming together of the minds of all the people . . . the binding law that would surely hold them together for their perpetuation and survival . . . .
>
> The *Great Law of Peace* harnessed the great power of the Hodinonshonni and gave it a positive direction . . . . The Roots of the Great Tree of Peace extended in all four directions, inviting any group or individual to come under its protection.
>
> The sacred attitude toward the Mother Earth was restored to the Hodinonshonni by the *Great Law of Peace* along with the structure and function of the Grand Council of Sachem Chiefs. Their minds were dominated by thoughts of peace and kindness for the People of the Longhouse.
>
> An exquisite design for a most humane way of life was to guide the Hodinonshonni through the most prosperous part of their history for many generations to come.
>
> And then the white man came (Hall, 1976, pp. 4-5).

According to Driver (1971), there is abundant evidence of the presence of man in the New World as early as 10,000 B.C.

THE EFFECT OF CONTACT ON NATIVE FEMALE ROLE

Driver (1971) states that the social psychologist and the clinical psychologist "treat the individual person," the anthropologist studies the "concept of personality to social groups," romantic writers give attention to personal relations within Indian societies, and historians view the Indian as an "impediment to the spread of European civilization and Christianity." He notes that if our knowledge were more complete, societies could be distinguished on the basis of race, language, culture, and *modal personality*. No one has studied the Indian personality according to a multimodal approach, which would consider tribal diversity, as well as predict changes in the nature of each tribe over the centuries after its first contact with the White man. This paper represents such a multimodal approach.

Because the Native female role is defined by her respective Indian *group*, in terms of the functions she performs for the maintenance of those groups and in terms of the *relationships* resulting from those functions, an Indian group as a reference point is a prerequisite for defining Native female roles. An Indian group reflects a traditional tribal philosophy and value system. These values motivate individual behavior to maintain the group. Prior to external contact, Indian people dealt with one another in tribal relationships which were built with honesty, unselfishness, humor, and good feelings.

These relationships were based on principles of *respect* and *responsibility*: respect for all other human beings, for their environment, and for all creatures therein and responsibility for one another and for their environment. Such relationships produced societies that were highly civilized, humanistic, and holistic. In these societies religious teachings prescribed norms for maintaining these principles to generations of Native people, and the socialization process enabled their female and male members to meet the expectations of their extended families, clans, and tribes. Indians raised their children collectively, with great love and acceptance, producing relationships that were strong, long lasting, and consistent. Thus, knowledge and practice of traditional tribal relationships became the threads of the Indian personality, the basis for the person's "Indianness."

There are two parts to the Indian woman's role--the core or personality, and its complexion or function. The core, or her basic personality, is her unique spirituality. Her spirituality is unique because she is a Native person, because she "sprang from the earth." Thus, her special relationship to the earth is her uniqueness, her soul, her "Indianness."

The Indian woman's basic personality must have a means of expressing itself. Maslow notes:

> The best way for a person to discover what he ought to do is to find out who and what he is, because the path to ethical and value decisions . . . is . . . via the discovery of the *nature* of the particular person (Maslow, 1971, p. 299).

"Metamotivation" is the unity of motivation and values. Maslow defines metamotivated self-actualizing people as those who are:

> . . . gratified in all their basic needs of belongingness, affection, respect and self esteem. This is to say that they have a feeling of belongingness, *rootedness* (Maslow, 1971, p. 299).

Native people are self-actualizing people, gratified by belonging to Indian groups, by the affection of one another, by the respect they have for each other and by the self-esteem their roles provide. They have "rootedness"; they "sprang from the earth" (Hall, 1976, p. 4).

Given the different orientations to life among the Native culture groups and the so-called material culture group, which has urban industrial values and a technological and scientific approach, contact between the two groups has caused severe difficulties and changes (Spindler, 1962). As a result of the loss of Indian lives, land, and languages, the self-actualizing of Native people was destroyed in some cases or minimized in others. The specific example of language contact is described here.

The actualization of the Indian woman is related intricately to the Indian language and to the Indian teachings. In 1929, Edward Sapir stated that language is a guide to "social reality . . . it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes . . . language . . .

medium of expression for their society . . . the real world is built upon the language habits of the group."

The traditional Indian groups have common cultures and languages. It is difficult to explain the connections between teachings, philosophy, language, and Indianness. Maslow comments:

> . . . "values" are defined in many ways and mean different things to different people. As a matter of fact it is so confusing, semantically, that I am convinced we will soon give up this catchall word (Maslow, 1971, p. 110).

He goes on to say that only a pluralistic description can serve. Indian languages have many unique characteristics. For example, there is no distinction between singular and plural nouns in Navajo, and most Indian languages are grammatically complex and heavily inflected.

The nature and form of the Indian languages capture and express the uniqueness of the Indian personality in ways that cannot be realized fully by the English language. Thus, when an Indian woman is required to use the English language, the form and nature of the new language hinders her expression and, consequently, the full realization of the Indian woman's role. As Driver has noted:

> Those who have known only a lightly inflected language, such as English, have great difficulty in mastering all the inflections in a more heavily inflected language (Driver, 1971, p. 32).

Driver continues:

> Translation from one language to another with a high degree of fidelity is easiest for the so-called material cultures . . . this is because the objects and the techniques have an objective existence apart from the semantic categories . . . translation is most difficult and at times impossible in religion . . . no scientist or engineer can devise an equivalent of the table of chemical elements for the concepts of the soul in a hundred or more languages (Driver, 1971, pp. 33-4).

The second part of the Indian woman's role, its complexion, can be viewed as the functions she carries out on a day-to-day basis within her Indian groups. The specific relationships she develops with others while carrying out her functions defines her uniqueness. As a result of contact with a different culture, her complexion would experience changes which directly affected the Indian woman's ability to self-actualize.

For example, changes in the social organization and the economy of Indian people resulted from contact with non-Indians. Driver states three major ways that cultural changes occurred:

1. Innovation with a single society without direct stimulus from neighboring peoples.

2. Introduction of new culture elements from the outside by contact with alien people.

3. Migration of a people from one geographical environment to another, necessitating a change in economy also accompanied by contact with alien people.

He continues:

> This contact may be brief, and may involve the exchange of only a modest amount of the total cultural inventory; in this case, the word *diffusion* may be applicable.
>
> Such contact may also be prolonged and continuous, and by means of intermarriage and other personnel exchange may engender the transfer of a relatively large amount of cultural inventory. In this case, the term *acculturation* would be more appropriate. . . .
>
> Diffusion and acculturation should not be viewed as mechanical processes which proceed everywhere at a uniform rate. Both are highly *selective*. Although all societies are exposed to the different ways of life of neighboring peoples they acquire only the culture elements which have *value to them* and which can be fitted into their own manner of living (Driver, 1971, pp. 267-8).

Because of the selectivity of the process of acculturation, the term will be used here to denote trends which *add to the maintenance and growth of the Indian group*. For acculturation to occur, Indians would choose the cultural inventory of the alien peoples which were of value to them and which could be fitted into the Indian's manner of living. Changes in social organization and in the economy of Indian people did not always result in positive changes. The term *deculturation* will be used to denote prolonged and continuous contact resulting in the transfer of relatively large amounts of cultural inventory exchange that is not of value to Indians, not accepted willingly and not suited to the Indian's manner of living. *Deculturation* will be used here to denote trends that *break down the Indian group*.

> Diffusion and acculturation seem to have been neglected in favor of internal factors confined to single tribes or peoples in most theories of social change (Driver, 1971, pp. 267-8).

Once the non-Native settled in large enough numbers in America, the processes of diffusion, acculturation, and deculturation of the Native people began. As the extermination of Native people declined and the changes in social organization and economy resulted in different socialization patterns of Indian people, *assimilation* was the goal developed by the white dominant group. To assimilate is to make or become similar to the dominant culture. This dominant group attempted to make their alien Indians assimilate material culture which incorporated urban industrial values, promoted technology and science, and was communicated by means of the English language. Any attempts to describe, quantify, and fit the Indian personality into the non-Indian's idea of a modal personality dilute the Indian woman's personality and limit her potential for creativity. The way the dominant society has identified "Indianness," negatively and inconsistently, or not at all, has changed the Indian woman's experience and developed and perpetuated the low esteem of the Indian race.

The acculturation process can include personnel exchange and intermarriage. In this case, personnel exchange is characterized by the bringing in of technicians to provide services for the maintenance of the Indian group. These technicians are viewed as necessary and are accepted on that basis. During acculturation, intermarriage is characterized by bringing into Indian family groups non-Indians who are accepted because of the kinds of persons they are and because of their ability to relate to other Indian members of that group. These non-Indians would respect Indian people and accept the responsibilities of functions that contribute to the maintenance of the Indian group.

In contrast, personnel exchange during the deculturation process is characterized by the bringing in of non-Indians who cannot relate to other Indian members, and who, generally, do not respect the Indian. As a result, good relationships are not formed, and no secure bonds develop. Factionalism within the group, and even its dysfunction, may occur.

Other personnel exchanges characteristic of deculturation move Indian children from their families into boarding schools, homes, foster and adoptive non-Indian homes (Slaughter, 1976). These non-Indian environments remove any Indian cultural identity, replace it with non-Indian values, and teach Indian children urban industrial values and behavior. If the child is part of an all-Indian school, there is a better chance to maintain Indian cultural inventory and to practice traditional tribal behavior. The child also benefits from tribal bonds with other Native people. The uniqueness of the Indian's role provides creative energies and strengthens the solidarity of these new groups. Deculturation in this case is slowed down but not stopped.

Another example of deculturation is the forced movement of Indians from the reservation to urban centers which resulted from loss of land, loss of subsistence, impoverishment, and subsequent "underdevelopment" of the reservation communities (Waddell and Watson, 1971). The subtle ways in which this forced movement was conducted can be linked to the misrepresentation by the Government of the consequences of relocation on Indian lives and to the coercion of the Government officials to make younger Indians move (Waddell and Watson, 1971; Madigan, 1956). The breakdown of tribal Indian groups is further promoted by the lack of jobs or housing on or near the reservations, by job placements out of the BIA boarding schools and into urban areas. Such tactics drained the tribal groups of regenerating resources and facilitated the deculturation process (Waddell and Watson, 1971; Madigan, 1956).

Intermarriage during deculturation is characterized by the severing of matrimonial relationships. The Indian's spouse and the children from that marriage are either ignored or treated badly. Breakdowns within Indian groups result from these bad feelings, and factionalism soon develops.

The basic cultural inventory exchange that resulted from contact between Indians and non-Indians concerned land, religion, languages, and subsistence. In addition, four major characteristics of the imperialistic European people who colonized the North American continent--the barter system, alcohol consumption, Christianity, and technology--continue to have severe effects on American Indian populations.

THE PERIOD FROM INITIAL CONTACT TO 1900

As the number of non-Natives increased, conflicts over the land and who was to live where developed. At first, the Indian was sharing his land and resources with the non-Indian, but as time passed, interactions between the two different groups progressed to the land business, and the European barter system contributed to dwindling Indian lands. The barter system of the colonists reflected the values of acquisition for the self, which the Indian neither understood nor valued (Slaughter, 1976). The Indian valued the land as belonging to all, while the non-Indian viewed it as a private domain (Slaughter, 1976). Other basic value differences, such as group versus individual emphasis, beneficial and reasonable use of resources versus avarice and greedy use, equality versus wealth, and compact living versus space living (Slaughter, 1976) contributed to the differences in opinions and to the eventual transactions with regard to the ownership of the land.

The period from initial contact with materialistic culture groups to 1900 is characterized by social disorganization and changes in the economics of Indian groups because of the loss of lives from war, lack of resistance to disease, broken hearts, and the loss of land. Hagan sums up the Indian versus non-Indian relationships:

> The outline of events in such tragedies was clear; the traders first employed the Indians to gather furs and . . . then as the game diminished and the frontier line pressed upon Indian holdings the second act opened. It closed with the tribesmen having been forced or seduced into selling their land. Occasionally this act would include an Indian war. . . . The third act would find the Indian resistance crushed and the inevitable treaty written ceding more land to the whites. The principal problem remaining would be the ultimate disposition of the tribe. The Indians might settle the problem temporarily by migrating westward to compete with already established tribes for their hunting grounds and set the stage for a repetition of the last two acts. Or if the defeat in the war had been overwhelming, the few tribesmen might be absorbed by the neighboring bands or located on a reservation. The usual result was that Indians

frustrated their wellwishers and cooperated with their oppressors by dying off rapidly (Driver, 1971, p. 481).

Social disorganization during this period can be viewed as the breakdown in the traditional Indian groups--the extended family, the clan, and the tribes. The change in economics from the traditional subsistence patterns of agriculture--gathering of natural foods, hunting, and fishing--to a "cash economy" (Lurie, 1961) caused and was caused by the migration of Native people and by the introduction of the new cultural elements. Both were the result of contact with alien people.

The cash economy that replaced the traditional subsistence patterns included:

1. Small-scale farming for individuals on reservation lands that were given to the Indians because they were not of use to the non-Indian at that time. Indian farmers had to compete with the large-scale production farming that was developing in the late 1800's from the advances in technology (Levine and Lurie, 1968).

2. Unskilled and semiskilled wage work in the industries that were developing in the United States, as a result of technology, and domestic work in the whites' homes.

3. Supplemental sources of subsistence from carryover behavior of gardening, gathering of natural foods, hunting, and fishing.

4. Welfare, the direct distribution of food, cloth, and money from the Government, and any direct services from the Government, missionary groups, and individual non-Indian sponsors.

It is important to realize that Indian people combined these sources at different times in a variety of ways during their lives to survive physically.

The vicious welfare cycle that the Indians find themselves in had its beginnings in the "contact-to-1900" period. As a result of the non-Indian's lack of respect for the Indian and the non-Indian's distorted sense of responsibility, an elaborate welfare system developed. The paternalistic treatment of Indian people has been and is practiced in the health, education, and social service fields. Significant historical events include:

1849 The Bureau of Indian Affairs was removed from the Department of War and was placed in the Department of the Interior. This marked the end of the direct conscious effort to exterminate American Indian people.

1800's At midcentury, over 200 Indian schools funded by the Government and administered by the Five Civilized Tribes successfully educated their young (Slaughter, 1976).

1846 After 44 years of Federal funding of mission schools for Indians, professional training of Indian people in law and medicine was abandoned and emphasis was placed on vocational training for Indian children (Brophy and Aberle, 1966). This marked the beginning of a long-standing policy of the Government to "track" Indian people into lower paying, lower status occupations, thus stifling the development of individual inquisitiveness.

1871 A congressional statute ended the Government policy of making treaties with Indian groups, thereby no longer recognizing or respecting Indians as unique self-actualizing persons of independent sovereign nations (Steiner, 1968).

1872 With the establishment of the Carlisle boarding school, the "tracking" policy is institutionalized into the first relocation program removing Indian youth from their homes into non-Indian environments. Indian children learned housekeeping and farming through "opportunities" to live in homes of whites (Waddell and Watson, 1971).

1890 The responsibility for the education and resulting socialization of the Indian children in the Five Civilized Tribes' schools was handed over to the States' public school systems (Slaughter, 1976).

Because of the basic assumption of superiority on the part of the non-Indian colonist, the policy of assimilation for the Indian permeates Indian/non-Indian relations. The welfare system developed from the Government's and the missionaries' preference for assimilation.

The Indian welfare system is based on the philosophy that, as a result of their taking of the Indian's land, the non-Indian Government is responsible for erasing from Indian individuals and groups any responsibility for themselves. The underlying assumption is that the Indians do not have the ability to make their own decisions and therefore cannot control their own lives (Brophy and Aberle, 1966). This assumption is based on the non-Indian's lack of respect for the Indian as a human being.

The Indian welfare institution, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), was established on this philosophy. It was to be the external "Indian" mechanism to carry out the Government's responsibility to solve the "principal problem" of disposing of the tribes (Hagan, 1961), which resulted from the white man's control over the land. The non-Indian BIA defined the "Indian problem" by "blaming the victim." The psychological and biological makeup of the Indian was identified as the cause of the Indian problem. It is significant that many American Indian people would rather die than become involved with this welfare system. This has been and always will be the unique personality of the Native person--to be self-actualizing and resist dependency.

The welfare system is another example of describing the Indian in terms of what he is not (white), rather than discovering what he "is" (Blanchard, 1977). Vague descriptions and paternalistic treatment of Indian people by the non-Indian produced a negative image of the Indian race. Paternalistic treatment is realized by doing everything for the Indians, thereby relieving them of the personal responsibility for the maintenance of their own groups. The white urban industrial value of "impatience" (Slaughter, 76:30) has stifled any self-determination among Indians. This paternalism has been institutionalized by the governmental bureaucracies whose existence depends on the perpetuation of the Indian problem. It is no wonder that the various solutions contrived by the system have not solved the problem. It is much easier and more personally gratifying for the service provider to do everything for the Indian, rather than to take the time to work through the process of the Indians' learning how to do anything for themselves and therefore nurturing inquisitiveness. The first behavior seemed to be less expensive for the Government from the beginning, but the long-range perpetuation of the problem and the need for services far outweigh any initial costs incurred by institutions.

Direct services to Indian people by Christian missionaries during the 1800's contributed to the establishment of the Indian welfare system. Because of the Government and the individual settlers' lack of concern for the disposition of the Indian tribes as a result of the land loss, sympathetic, guilt-ridden missionary groups moved into Indian communities to provide much-needed medical and nutritional services for dwindling Indian populations. Christian missionaries were motivated by the obvious survival needs of the people, as well as by their own need to help, convert, and civilize the Indian. Basic lack of respect for the Indian as a unique Native combined with the urban industrial value of converting others to their own religion also motivated their behavior (Slaughter, 1976). The Indians' respect for other religions, their loss of land resulting in the breakdown of groups, and their lack of traditional religious practices made them especially susceptible to the missionaries' efforts in the 1800's.

The role of Christianity in the conversion, education, and family breakdown in Indian life is part of the deculturation process. While the basic idea of Christianity and spirituality was not the debilitating factor, the conflicting behavior motivated by other urban industrial values of the non-Indian practicing the religions caused poor relationships and group debasement. Personal characteristics of the missionaries often resulted in the breakdown of the Indian group, and intermarriage with non-Indians resulted in further factionalism within Indian communities.

The first congressional act for the annual appropriation of monies for the education of Indians was passed in 1802. By 1834, 60 Indian mission schools sponsored by 6 different religions existed (Waddell and Watson, 1971). The educational goal of the schools was assimilation--the Indian was to be relieved of his culture and language and was to be taught the urban industrial values and customs, as well as the English language. These attempts, funded by the Government and administered by the missionaries, resulted in the further institutionalization of racism. Another result of the paternalistic treatment is that the missionaries assumed the responsibility of socializing Indian children. Missionaries removed children from their families and put them into non-Indian homes and mission schools. The social disorganization of Indian groups added to the non-Indian presumptions about what the Indian needed.

With the social disorganization of traditional groups necessitating dependency on the welfare system, with the deterioration of the family through intermarriage, and with the primary functions of child rearing taken away, the Indian woman's role was vastly diminished and altered. Even though the Christian religions provided an outlet for the Indian woman's spirituality, which is basic to her traditional role, they did not prove to be an adequate substitute for the Indian religions in which she felt "whole" (Lurie, 1961).

In addition, changes in social organization and economics resulted from Indian migration patterns. Migration behavior always has been a characteristic of Native peoples (Hall, 1976). The evidence for migration can be seen in language changes which generally show greater stability than cultural changes in extensive migrations (Driver, 1971).

Migration patterns of Indian people are of two kinds--self-determined and forced. In tribal tradition, land, water, and forest belong to all, and religious notions emphasize the people's harmony with nature (Slaughter, 1976).

> The distinction between natural and supernatural was never sharply drawn by Indians, who tended to blend the two into one harmonious whole (Driver, 1971, p. 396).

Thus, before contact with Europeans, freedom and choice of movement characterized Indian migrations, which reflect the self-actualization and self-determining trends of Native peoples.

> . . . The Crows are an example of a tribe that originally formed and gathered natural foods--a subsistence pattern that was characteristic of matrilineal societies in that the women owned and cultivated plots of land and were prominent. Once the Crows migrated to plains where the primary subsistence pattern of hunting and fishing was practiced and therefore gave high prestige to those skills men performed. However, the Crows retained their matrilineal social organization patterns (Driver, 1971, p. 37).

One of the most dramatic examples of a forced migration was the 1838 Trail of Tears of the Cherokees from the southeastern United States to west of the Mississippi River, resulting in the deaths of 4,000 tribesmen (Steiner, 1968). Other historical events that resulted from forced migrations included:

1850 Discovery of gold in California and the establishment of reservations (Slaughter, 1976).

1868 The conclusions of 370 treaties limiting Indians to reservations (Slaughter, 1976).

1872 The establishment of the Carlisle relocation boarding school (Waddell and Watson, 1971).

1887 The General Allotment Act dealt another death blow to the Indian land base, and led to migrations to other economic sources. Together with subsequent amendments in 1891, 1906, 1910, it produced a loss of 90 million acres of Indian land (Burnette, 1971), fractionheirship problems, and the intrusion of non-Indians into Indian communities. The factionalism that resulted from this General Allotment Act continued to have severe effects on the breakdown of Indian groups.

Migrations, directly forced by alien non-Indians and subtly induced by the introduction of alien cultural elements, such as a cash economy and alcohol, occurred in almost all types of Indian communities (Waddell and Watson 1971). Movements from the reservation to the urban areas can be discussed in terms of deculturation and acculturation as simultaneous processes. Because Indian people vary in their "Indianness" and consequently practice different kinds of metamotivated behavior, it is important to realize that many migrations were made by choice and were acculturation processes. However, the migrations from the reservations to the urban areas are, for the most part, forced migrations in a deculturation process.

Another new cultural element introduced by the non-Indian into the Indian communities was alcohol, which has had debilitating effects on Indian families. Its major contribution to the deculturation process is that its use and abuse perpetuate the low group esteem that resulted from external causes. Many Indian problems were perpetuated by the Indian welfare system and alcohol abuse.

We have shown that from the time of initial contact to the 1900's, the cultural inventory exchange between the non-Indian and the Indian with regard to land, subsistence, language, and religion changed the role of the Indian woman. By the close of the 19th century, many Indian women had found their way into the cities. For those who left Indian groups but maintained some contact, their role diminished. For those who had left their traditional Indian group, maintained some contact, and moved into new Indian groups, their role was redefined by the activities and functions they performed for the new and old groups. For the most part, these associations included helping one another to survive and engaging in recreational and sports activities in social, tribal, and other informal groups, as well as drinking.

Most of the "citizen" Indians did not associate with "ward" Indians, an identification made on the basis of economics (Waddell and Watson, 1971). "Citizen Indians" were busy assimilating into the dominant society, while the "ward Indians" often banded together and maintained more of their cultural values. The variations among and between individuals were great. For the most part, the roles were changed severely, and the Indian woman had to struggle to achieve her unique identity.

Chief Sealth of the Suwanish Tribe summarized the situation when he wrote these words in a letter sent to President Franklin Pierce in 1855:

> The Great Chief in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land. How can you buy or sell the sky--the warmth of the land? The idea is strange to us. Yet we do not own the freshness of the air or the sparkle of the water. How can you buy them from us? Every part of the earth is sacred to my people. Every shiny pineneedle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing and humming insect is holy in the memory and experience of my people.
>
> We know that the white man does not understand our ways. One portion of the land is the same to him as the next, for he is a stranger who comes in the night and takes from the land whatever he needs. The earth is not his brother but his enemy and when he has conquered it he moves on. He leaves his fathers' graves and his children's birth place is forgotten.
>
> There is no quiet place in the white man's cities. No place to hear the leaves of spring or the rustle of insect wings. But perhaps because I am savage and do not understand, the clatter only seems to insult the ears. And what is there to life if a man cannot hear the lovely cry of the whippoorwill or the arguments of the frog around the pond at night.
>
> The whites, too, shall pass--perhaps sooner than the tribes. Continue to contaminate your bed and you will one night suffocate in your own waste. When the buffalo are all slaughtered, the wild horses all tamed, the secret corners of the forest heavy with the scent of many men, and the view of the ripe hills blotted out by talking wires. Where is the eagle? Gone. And what is it to say goodbye to the swift and the hunt, the end of living and the beginning of survival? (Hall, 1976, p. 48).

By the close of the 19th century, Indian populations leveled off from the decreasing trends and began to rise steadily (Levine and Lurie, 1971). Native people began to recover from the devastating effects of contact with the alien non-Indian. It was the beginning of survival for the Indian race.

1900 TO PRESENT

Other significant historical events from 1900 to 1977 can be viewed in terms of the relationship between Indians and non-Indians. Once the Indian population began to survive as a race again, their collective behavior patterns reverted to self-actualization or "self-determination." The collective behavior patterns for the white race continued the racist philosophy of assimilation. The "short sighted" (Waddell and Watson, 1971) actions taken by the Government remained inconsistent and centered around shifting its "responsibility to the Indian" over to: (1) the States, (2) individual Indian people by taking away their trust status, and (3) different administrative agencies within the maze of bureaucracies, in the hope that the Indian would fade away.

The fickle nature of the Federal Government contributed to the confusion of all the governmental and service officials interacting with the Indian in attempts to solve the problems. Because of the number of agencies involved, it was especially confusing to pin down the agency responsible for servicing Indians in urban areas. Massive frustration and resistance characterized the Indian people during this period of history. The Federal Government's ignorance of the Indians' special relationships and the lack of integrity on the part of the officials to fulfill the responsibilities handed down to them by their forefathers' treaty agreements, brought about the following events.

The period from 1870 to 1910 is described as the most abusive in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' administration of services to Indians (Levine and Lurie, 1965). Communicable diseases were so severe among Indian tribes that in 1911 the Government had to appropriate their first monies for Indian health care (Slaughter, 1976). In 1921, Congress passed the Snyder Act, which provided for the Indian Health Service in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This was a reaction of the Government to the increased visibility of Indian people in World War I. The Government further rewarded what they believed to be assimilative behavior on the part of the Indians to serve their country by granting U.S. citizenship to Indians in 1921. By 1928, feelings were so good toward the Indian populations that the Merriam Report recognized the positive characteristics of Indian groups and called for the respectful treatment of these peoples. In 1933, John Collier became Commissioner of the BIA, and it seemed as if the Indians had found a friend (Waddell and Watson, 1971). Collier stated that:

> The new Indian policy must be built around the group dynamic potentials of Indian life. This meant an ending of the epoch of forced atomization, cultural prescription, and administrative absolutism . . . . In place of an Indian Bureau monopoly of Indian affairs, there must be sought a cumulative involvement of all agencies of helpfulness--Federal, State, local, and unofficial; but the method should not be of simply dismembering the Indian service but rather of transforming it into a technical servicing agency and a coordinating, evaluating, and, within limitations, regulatory agency (Collier, 1954, p. 5).

In 1934, the Johnson-O'Malley Act, which gave contracts to the public schools educating Indian children, was passed. This was a reaction to pressures over the issue of the division of church and state that the Government so flagrantly violated for years by letting the missionaries educate the Indian children, as well as by shifting the responsibility to the States. In 1935, the Social Security Act transferred social services to the States, thereby relieving the Federal Government of that responsibility (Slaughter, 1976). In 1935, Indians were granted religious freedom (Levine and Lurie, 1968), somewhat changing the practice of the time of removing the Indian religious teachings from Indian culture. But extreme damage already had been done; the prescriptions for life in many tribes had been destroyed. By 1941, when the United States entered World War II, the Indian Reorganization Act, the most humane thing the Government had ever done for Indians, barely started 7 years ago, came to a halt.

> The Indian Reorganization Act recognized the importance of Indian communal life as an agency for preserving and encouraging social controls and values on which the people could base innovations made by themselves. To this end it sought to transfer the initiative from the BIA to the tribesmen concerned. The Act:
>
> - provided for the purchase of new land holdings by Indians, thereby ceasing the allotments and restoring surpluses.
> - established a system of federal loans.
> - confirmed Indian self-government.
> - provided for the setting up of tribal business organizations to be chartered as federal corporations.
> - granted Indians eligibility for BIA posts (beginnings of Indian preference).
> - provided for the Indian groups accepting the Act further to conserve their soil, water, vegetation, and timber resources and it directed the Secretary of the Interior to inform them of all estimates of the cost of federal projects for their benefit before submitting the figures to the Bureau of the Budget.

> In 1944 a report on the I.R.A. stated that "in some instances the Indian's progress toward assimilation had lagged . . . the government's failure to settle claims and consolidate scattered holdings owned by several heirs . . . . The failure of administrators to understand how to motivate the Indians to take full advantage of its benefits in part from the skepticism of superintendents about the Indians' ability to look after themselves, and in part from the inadequacy of appropriations" (Brophy and Aberle, 1966, pp. 20-23).

By the end of World War II in 1945, John Collier had left the commissioner's office. In 1946, the Indian Claims Commission was established to try to settle the Indian land claims disputes that had resulted from the Allotment Act of the 1800's.

The Government continued its policy of tracking Indian youth into lower status, lower paying vocational occupations of the relocation program by establishing the Sherman Institute BIA boarding school as an experimental 5-year program of accelerated basic vocational education for reservation youths near the metropolitan area of Los Angeles, California. To facilitate the existing movement of Indians from underdeveloped reservations into cities, the BIA accelerated what appeared to be a successful trend: in 1948, a job-finding program was created for the Navajo and the Hopi in Los Angeles, Phoenix, Denver, Salt Lake City, Aberdeen, Billings, Minneapolis, and Portland (Waddell and Watson, 1971). Because of its assumption that assimilation was the best course of action, the Federal Government did not work out agreements with the State, county, or city governments with regard to service needs.

In 1949, the Hoover Commission called for the complete assimilation of Indians and a shift of responsibility to the States (Cahn, 1970). To keep Federal monies flowing, the Governors called the first Governors' Interstate Council of Indian Affairs for those States with the larger Indian populations. In 1952, in keeping with the decentralization of Federal responsibility of the decade, the Bureau also expanded its urban job placement program to a nationwide effort and added Chicago to the list of cities serviced (Waddell and Watson, 1971). By 1953, a vocational training component was added to the job placement program, and by 1956 adult education was included (Waddell and Watson, 1971).

The year 1953 was very significant for the Indian race in that the Federal Government's prohibition against the sale of liquor to Indians was repealed, and Public Law 280, an administrative action of House Resolution 108, transferred the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Indians to the States of California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin. House Concurrent Resolution 108 (HC108):

> - did not take the form of a statute, but administrative action has given it almost the effect of one . . .
> - reversed most of the principles of the IRA . . .
> - had as its purpose the removal of Indians from federal control and supervision, the ending of their wardship, making them subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges as other citizens . . . .
>
> The restrictions and the trusts had not been imposed by the government but had resulted from covenants made by the Indians and the United States in the form of treaties, agreements, statutes and policies designed to protect them from losing their land, and to assure the right of self-government, the inalienability and immunity from taxes on their land and the services which the United States provided (Brophy and Aberle, 1966, pp. 22-23).

The Menominee, the Alabama-Coushattas, and the Klamath tribes were terminated from trust status as a result of swift administrative action.

The Paiute tribe and all the tribes of Texas were terminated by 1954. By 1958, the loud protests against termination got a reaction out of Secretary of the Interior Seaton, who stated that termination would not be carried out without the consent of the tribe (Levine and Lurie, 1968). The BIA in the same year collaborated with the non-Indian Child Welfare League of America to establish an Indian adoption project.

By 1961, many Indian people had served in the United States' conflict with Viet Nam. President Kennedy called a halt to termination in that same year (Levine and Lurie, 1968). In 1962, Congress was still trying to resolve the problems of heirship and land claim disputes that resulted from the Allotment Act, but with no success. The damage to the land base seemed irreparable. In the 1960's, the transfer of the Federal Government's responsibilities to the Indian from the Bureau to other governmental agencies involved the Public Health Service, the Social Security Administration, and the Department of Labor (supplying services through the States and local auspices), the Office of Education (contributing funds for Indian education), and the transfer of agricultural extension services to various States (Waddell and Watson, 1971). In 1961, the Department of Commerce, contributing funds for Indian housing, began the first sustained contacts with Indians as a result of the Area Redevelopment Act of the Public Housing Administration (Waddell and Watson, 1971).

The 1960's were characterized as the Kennedy/Johnson years and by the War on Poverty. Michael Harrington's book, The Other America, supposedly spearheaded the war. In his book, Harrington devotes a few lines to what he calls the hardest hit group--Indians. Unfortunately, among the six priorities of needs to be attacked in the war, the American Indian was sixth on the list (Levine and Lurie, 1968). In 1964, the final report of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of Indians pointed out again:

- denials of due process of law for Indians.
- complex legal difficulties.
- arbitrary decision making of the BIA.
- job discrimination on all levels of employment.
- need for tribal consent on P.L. 280.
- "Concerning tribal sovereignty, the government of the United States has continually thwarted the self-government of tribes."
- identification of the fundamental cause of "the Indian problem" as lack of education (Levine and Lurie, 1968, p. 119).

In 1967, the Resource Development (Omnibus) bill was offered as the answer to the Indian problem but was never passed (Cahn, 1970). Two years before that, in 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for the general population, aimed at improving the education of disadvantaged children, funded a number of programs for Indian children, including innovative teaching, dropout prevention, and bilingual education. By 1968, six titles dealing with Indians in Civil Rights bills were passed in Congress. President Johnson called for the self-determination, rather than termination, of Indian people; however, 2 years earlier, his administration had repressed his task force report and demanded the drastic reorganization of the Bureau (Cahn, 1970).

In 1970, President Nixon called for the repeal of HRC 108, P.L. 280 and reiterated the need for self-determination of Indian people. In 1973, the Indian Education Act, P.L. 92-318, and the Child Abuse, Prevention and Treatment Act, P.L. 93247, were passed, thereby providing more programs for Indian children. In 1975, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, P.L. 93-638, and in 1976, the Indian Health Care Improvement Act were passed. All these most recent reactions of the Government to the Indian problem provided opportunities for the self-determination of Indian people, but they had to be on the white man's terms.

Programs tied up in red tape and administrative costs at all levels of government drained the funds off before they reached the clients. The programed failure of many of these efforts was the result of: (1) the lack of technical assistance for the Indians to learn for themselves the complex governmental regulations and the reporting and budget requirements; (2) the effects of the non-Indian evaluators in assessing the success of the projects in terms of money per unit of service; and (3) the inadequate funds and time periods allowed for projects to accomplish solutions to social problems that developed for over 200 years.

Funds were not allocated in the needed amounts, and competition within the Indian world for the monies resulted in the same kind of factionalism that was caused by previous introductions of non-Indian cultural inventory. Basic value conflicts arose again between the urban industrial and tribal traditional culture groups when confrontations over these programs occurred at all levels of government and in the community. These programs were a threat to existing service delivery systems because their mere existence implied that "someone was not doing his job" because they threatened to take power, money, and political monopolies away from established institutions.

More devastating to the non-Indian institution was the Federal Government's recognition that service delivery was not the only way to help the Indian and that programs built on the assimilation theory and on the idea that all people in America should be treated in the same way does not respect cultural differences. Therefore, sabotage, resistance, competition, lack of coordination, and extreme racist feelings permeated all these efforts to give self-determination and responsibility back to the Indian. For example, arguments over "professionalism" and "confidentiality" are used to safeguard non-Indian services. The busy paperwork and the time and energies spent on sensitizing the curious, uncommitted, defensive service provider, administrators, politicians, and community deterred the Indian people from directly attacking their problems with concentrated efforts.

In the end, the programs produced little for the Government to point to and say "This is what we paid for." However, the more important results of the efforts to enable self-determination cannot be measured in monies or numerical figures. The non-Indian cannot understand why it is important for Indians to be working together on their own problems. The difference in value orientation of the non-Indian and the Indian keeps surfacing as the contributing factor to the Indian problem (Waddell and Watson, 1971). Whether it is within the grasp of the non-Indian to realize this and let go is yet to be seen.

SELF-DETERMINATION

The period of history from 1900 to 1977 is an exciting time for the rejuvenation of the Indian woman's role. The self-actualization of the Indian people has begun to be realized, and significant historical events characterize the self-determining efforts of Native people.

1622	First Indian resistance against the English (Driver, 1971).
1680	Pueblos rebelled against the Spanish (Driver, 1971).
1763	English recognized the sovereign rights of Native people by dealing directly with the tribes instead of through the colonies (Driver, 1971).
1768	Northwest Ordinance. Reiterated and recognized the sovereignty of Native people (Driver, 1971).
1787	Articles of Confederation.
1789	Constitution of United States.
1804	Louisiana Purchase.
1850's	Five Civilized Tribes successfully operate schools for their young (Slaughter 1976).
1879	The first national Indian organization was formed.
1907	The Five Civilized Tribes organized and requested that the Indian state be formed. Request denied. Oklahoma is formed (Levine and Lurie, 1968).
1914	Indian people fight in World War I.
1936-44	Indian people serve in World War II and work in the war industries for the protection of their native land (Levine and Lurie, 1968).
1944	National Congress of American Indians was formed to voice the Indian viewpoint (Levine and Lurie, 1968).
1950-3	Indians served in the armed services in the Korean conflict.
1960's	New opportunities for Indian people with the Office of Economic Opportunity Community Action programs (Waddell and Watson, 1971).

1961	National Indian Youth Council was formed (Levine and Lurie, 1968).
1963	Indian people of Pine Ridge Reservation demand more housing (Levine and Lurie, 1968).
1963	The National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Youth Council issue statements endorsing the sentiments of the Civil Rights Movement (Levine and Lurie, 1968).
1964	Nationwide protests in support of the fishing rights of Indian people in Washington State and of the taking of the Seneca land for the Kinzua Dam by the Army Corps of Engineers (Levine and Lurie, 1968).
1968	American Indians United was formed to strengthen the urban Indian's identity (Waddell and Watson, 1971).

As the result of the new programs in education, health, and welfare, Indian people began to solve their own problems in the Indian way--collectively.

These efforts by American Indians allow them to become, once again, the self-actualized peoples that inhabited the North American continent prior to the historical period of contact. Expression of individual "Indianness" has had varied effects, but the basic spiritual personality of Native people has persisted. The resiliency of the race truly amazes many non-Indians.

Many frustrations of the Indian people in their relationships with non-Indians resulted in the Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island, the takeover of the BIA building in Washington, D.C., in 1972, and the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1973. The Government's fickle nature has again resorted to exterminating those with the most extreme traditional view--the American Indian Movement leaders--and racial disputes still permeate all Indian/non-Indian relationships. However, the consciousness of the American society has been raised with regard to the Indian problem, the development of American Indian studies programs and more Indian-authored literature of the 1960's and 1970's has contributed to the new awareness of the Indian personality (Waddell and Watson, 1971). Most recently, the International Treaty conferences of 1976 and 1977 culminated these self-actualizing, self-determining efforts of Native people.

WHO IS AN INDIAN?

The year 1977 has been a very sensitive time for Indian/non-Indian relationships. Urban populations of Indian people (over half of the national Indian population lives in urban areas) have had to deal with other minorities, as well as with the white majority. For the most part, these non-Indians aspire to the urban industrial goals of America. A recent article written by Randolph Hearst in the December 12, 1976, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle illuminates the sentiments of the dominant society toward the American Indian. Entitled "Editor's Report, Goodies for Minorities, Tribes Receiving U.S. Wampum," the article reads:

> The WASP is becoming the least vocal and unrecognized minority; Uncle Sam's largess is almost solely color-conscious. It is designed exclusively for American Indians, Alaskan Natives . . . blacks and Hispanics . . . . The law does not recognize Jewish minorities, or Poles, or Greeks, or Italians, or any others whose flesh tones are incorrectly described as White. Because of their bland color, these feckless Americans must shift for themselves, under the law and under existing federal policies, and in addition, scrounge up the taxes to see that the designated minorities get a better--and richer--life . . . . It may have escaped the notice of many but the enormous sums of U.S. wampum have recently been bestowed on numerous Indian tribes for various reasons . . . . The American Indian is on the warpath again, and this time he is not looking for scalps but that elusive green stuff that the white man uses for trading . . . these matters are before the courts, but entirely in all of the fuss is the fact that when the settlers took the land, it was generally by agreements of some kind with the native Indians and no records were kept, there being no county clerk with whom to file the deeds . . . . It is becoming apparent that some non-white Americans . . . are thriving on what can only be described as "reverse discrimination" . . . Did we or didn't we decide that the color of a person's skin or the source of his ancestry didn't count?
>
> If we did decide that color or ancestry don't count, what the hell are we doing?

Unfortunately, Randolph Hearst did not research his article further. If he had approached the State of California, Department of Health and Welfare, he would have discovered that Mario Obledo in the Office of the Secretary had information on how the American Indian in California is getting a "better--and richer--life" at the expense of the poor WASP taxpayers. A June 23, 1975, memorandum profile of the American Indian lists (California, 1975):

Population

- 66% of the Indian population lives in urban areas, 15% lives on reservations and rancherias and the remainder in other rural areas.

- 197,000 Native Americans reside in California and it is believed that by the end of this decade one in five Native Americans who reside in the United States will live in California.

Birth and Childhood

- 28% of Indian mothers had no prenatal care.
- Indians have the highest infant mortality rate.

- Indian children average 5.7 years of schooling.
- Infant mental retardation is 4%.
- There are two children's education centers specifically designed to serve Indians; in one 76% of the children served were non-Indians.
- 650 reservation children are presently without adequate child care.
- 90% of Fresno High School Indian children use marijuana.

Adulthood

- Only 7.6% of the adult male population has completed 1 year or more of college.
- 55% of Indian fathers are skilled or semiskilled.
- 40-55% of all reservation Indians are unemployed.
- 30% of all urban Indians are unemployed.
- Over 70% of Indian families earn less than $3,000 annually; 10% are on welfare.
- Indians stay in the hospitals two and a half times longer than affluent Californians for the same illnesses.
- 4% of all Indians are epileptic.
- The tuberculosis rate is eight times that of the general population.
- Cirrhosis of the liver is four times the national average.
- 60% of all Indians are alcoholics or alcohol abusers.
- 213 Indians are in state prisons.
- 75% of all Indian arrests nationally are alcohol related.
- 10% of all San Francisco drunk arrests are Indians.

The Elderly Native American

- 20% have diabetes.
- 40% have high blood pressure.
- 6.2% have tuberculosis.
- 9% have hepatitis.
- 53% have arthritis.
- 21% have some form of heart disease.
- Over 2,000 Indians are totally disabled.
- The average income of the elderly is $1,900.

A report never updated indicated 90 percent of all homes for Indians were inadequate. Forty-two percent of the water was contaminated and indoor plumbing was nonexistent in 40-51 percent of Indians' homes. Over 40 percent of the children born to chronic alcoholics are mentally retarded.

Death

- The average age of death in California is 70 years.
- The average death for Indians is 54 years.

Expenditures for Indians

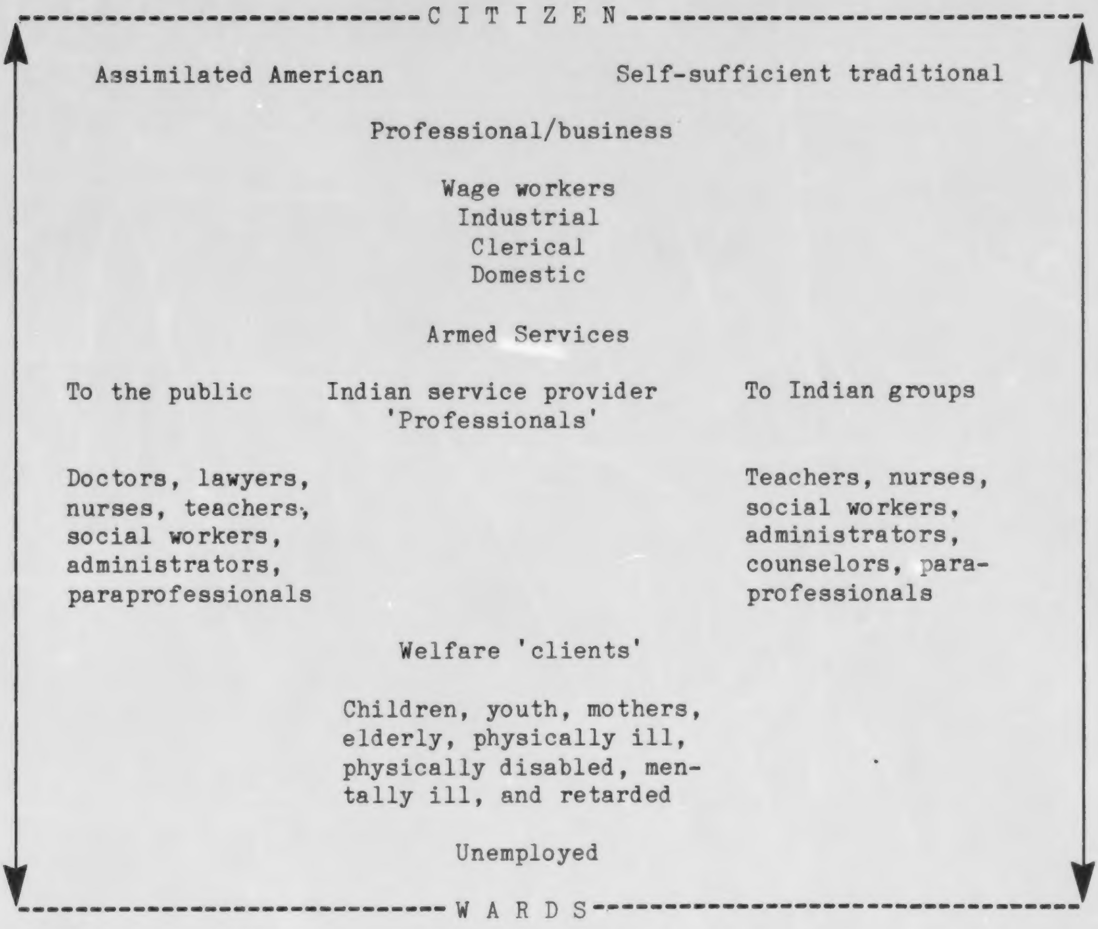
- Probably true expenditure: $9 million, $45.68 per Native American.

From the profile we can identify the American Indian in 1977 as a person who is neither thriving nor rich. The American Indian population in the United States can be identified by four variables: blood quantum, "Indianness," economics, and geographic location. Each of these variables has a wide range of variations; any of the combinations within three of the variables may occur at different times in an individual's life, therefore making a definition extremely difficult. Once the variations within the four variables are dealt with, combinations can be considered. Indian identity is a complex matter, and many raging arguments are conducted with regard to who is an Indian and who is more Indian than another. The primary concern of these discussions is over the financial responsibility of the Government in the delivery of services to the Indian population. The confusion and factionalism that result from this matter and from the Government's shifting of responsibilities prove that very little is being done to solve the problems many Indian people face. And there are real problems.

The urban industrial and the tribal traditional value lists provided by Larsh (Slaughter, 1976) serve as reference points for the "Indianness" continuum. It is difficult to determine the individual's values because of their subjectivity. Therefore, it is more appropriate for a person to examine his or her behavior and the motivations behind that behavior to determine, for example, whether his or her emphasis is on the individual or the group. By evaluating one's actual behavior and by examining the values motivating this behavior, a truer picture of where one stands between the assimilated American and the traditional tribal Indian can be obtained. Of course, the assumption behind this approach to Indian identity is that the traditional tribal Indian person is the positive end of the continuum. It assumes that the healthy Indian's mental health picture is the traditional orientation. While it is difficult to make generalizations about changes that occur continuously throughout one's life, if accomplished, an honest evaluation can provide a personal inventory.

This process will be most difficult for those who do not understand the subjective clusters that surround values within a cultural context. We could disagree about the semantics of the exercise, but for those who know the meaning of the values this would not be important. The blood quantum is constant and does not vary.

Indians can be identified in many ways. The Government chooses to identify the least number of Indians to hedge its responsibility for the Native people and to save money. The moral issues of the taking of the Indian's land and the repayment have not been settled between the non-Indian and the Indian.


CITIZEN
Assimilated American
Self-sufficient traditional
Professional/business
Wage workers
Industrial
Clerical
Domestic
Armed Services
To the public
Indian service provider 'Professionals'
To Indian groups
Doctors, lawyers, nurses, teachers, social workers, administrators, paraprofessionals
Teachers, nurses, social workers, administrators, counselors, paraprofessionals
Welfare 'clients'
Children, youth, mothers, elderly, physically ill, physically disabled, mentally ill, and retarded
Unemployed
WARDS

TRANSITION FROM THE RESERVATION TO THE URBAN SETTING

Realization of the Indian woman's role in the fullest sense is connected to, and dependent on, the group's esteem of the Indian race. Throughout history, Indian groups have played a very important part in providing the outlets for the expression of the woman's role. In some cases, her role was not realized and was merely passed on to the next generation; in many others, it has blossomed and grown. The transition from the reservation to an urban setting can be viewed in terms of the breakdown and the buildup of old and new groups. An Indian woman from a reservation would have belonged to various groups. From these groups she derived her self-esteem in the functions she performed for the maintenance of that group. She also derived, from the other members of the group, affection, respect, and a sense of belonging.

A forced move to the city usually occurred for economic reasons (Waddell and Watson, 1971). If the woman was married and/or took her family with her, a semblance of the primary tribal group was maintained (Waddell and Watson, 1971). If the woman moved to a city where relatives and friends resided, the vacancies in her primary group would be filled by others who often gave her assistance (Ablon, 1964). These relationships with various other people and the kinds of interactions determined the cohesiveness and the solidarity of the new groups. "Indian identity was related to the maintenance of strong ties to Indian significant others" (Bowman et al., 1975, p. 99).

On the reservation, there were more opportunities for self-actualization because of the physical proximity of others and because of the social organization within the reservation. In the urban setting, the opportunities were limited by the geographic distances between the woman and her friends and relatives. Opportunities for self-actualization were limited to the "immediate family" (Slaughter, 1976) and possibly to a few relatives and friends, usually of the same tribal group (Ablon, 1964). As the urban Indian community grew older, more opportunities developed through formally structured systems (Ablon, 1964) such as the Indian Center, pow wows, sports, drinking activities, and Indian service agencies. The cohesiveness and solidarity were determined by the bonding in tribal relationships that resulted from the similarities of tribal traditional values shared by the many different tribal groups interacting in the cities. They also were determined by the degrees of factionalism that occurred as a result of tribal diversity and by the turnover of individuals and length of associations that characterize the urban population.

In extreme cases where Indians could not interact significantly with others in new groups in the urban areas, the Indian woman's role would not be realized, and she often struggled through relationships with the non-Indians with whom she worked (Ablon, 1964) or lived as the assimilation process continued throughout her life. In these cases, the Indian woman would have to learn how to form relationships in a different manner to fit into the non-Indian groups. The inherent "Indianness" of the woman would have some effect upon the non-Indians she related with; but, for the most part, it was up to her to socialize on their terms.

The drastic effects of the abandonment of the tribal relationship, and the resulting cultural genocide for the Indian person resettled into the city created the "disconnectedness" that typifies many problems that urban people have (Blanchard, 1976). As the numbers of significant Indians increased in the urban areas and the groups began to solidify, the alienation also began to decline. The effects of this "disconnectedness" are most severe during the initial months in the urban area; some call it culture shock. Those affected are very vulnerable and continue to be so until they have gone through their own personal process of adjustment (Manitobawabi, 1976). The forms and time this adjustment takes are as varied and numerous as there are different individuals experiencing the transition.

The relocation program of the Government was based on the theory that success or failure could be determined in 6 months (Madigan, 1956; Waddell and Watson, 1971). Services were provided for approximately 1 year by the program, and thereafter the persons were expected to use community services (Waddell and Watson, 1971). Successful adjustment to the urban setting was characterized by minimal unemployment, few job changes, longer time spent on the job, high wages, little stress, no alienation, optimism toward the urban environment, good economic orientation, achievement motivation, internal control, a nontraditional view of her own well-being and goals, and the elimination of a drinking problem (Waddell and Watson, 1971).

The formal relationship between the non-Indian and the Indian, as established by the Federal Government for the relocation of Indian women, is another example of the conflict of cultural values. The value orientation and the expectations of the relocation program were different from those of the Indian people. Not only did the relocation program require the Indian to acquire the urban industrial values and behavior, but the program misrepresented the environment in the cities (Waddell and Watson, 1971; Madigan, 1956). Unmet expectations of both resulted in the deterioration of the relationship to the present situation.

Because the formation of new tribal relationships is crucial to the adjustment of the socially mobile Indian woman, her superficial relationship to the service provider only added to the severity of the "disconnectedness" during the initial months. She missed the quality of the tribal relationship and formed new bonds with people who had a negative orientation to Indian problems. The fact that a person is paid money to form a relationship with the Indian often corrupts self-actualization. Thus, the Indian person, unable to relate to the service delivery system within the urban environment often would not use community services planned by the BIA. Moreover, her traditional sense of obligation to meet the expectations of the relocation or Bureau employee often prevented her from asking for help until it was too late to alleviate the situation. Once failure was admitted, degradation and demoralization occurred, and the Indian person took a long time to recover from that negative experience.

As time went on, the Indian woman in the city may leave for another city or town or for the home reservation. The reasons for leaving cannot be easily categorized into the success-or-failure model that the non-Indian prefers. The relocated Indian woman is a member of the "transitional reference group" (Waddell and Watson, 1971) holding membership in two groups simultaneously. Membership and relationships in Indian groups, "the egalitarian quality" of true friendships (Ablon, 1964), along with a sense of obligation (Lurie, 1961), are significant considerations for moving. It is difficult for the non-Indian with the urban-industrial values of individualism to recognize and accept these as valid reasons for anyone leaving the urban environment.

For the Indian woman who chose to remain in the urban area, friends played a major role in her adjustment to the urban environment. Because the uprooted population is a young one, either a mate was included in the move or the woman would meet someone and start her own family. The fulfillment of the basic needs of survival, as well as the needs of self-esteem, respect, affection, and belongingness, are the motivating factors for adjustment. The woman's role in the immediate family and the development of Indian groups and organizations in the cities provided the outlets for the energies of Native people to become self-actualized and self-determining. Thus, Indian women who entered the urban Indian community early in its development and those who entered later possessed different feelings of belongingness and adjustment. The latter would be more likely to remain in the city.

The psychological effects of abandoning tribal relationships and the negative experiences during the vulnerable lifetimes have important effects on the acculturation and deculturation processes for uprooted Indian women. Urban life did not fit into the Indian manner of living, and therefore many Indian women did not self-actualize. The cultural inventory exchange between the two has been so dominated by non-Indians in that semblances of the Indian way of life cannot be realized. Many Indian people are part of this process of deculturation, which drastically affects their feelings of "Indianness."

The process of acculturation also is progressing for Indian people who are actively trying to preserve their Indian ways as well as to survive in the urban environment. The cultural inventory exchange in these cases is less and is limited to the economic necessities of life. Personnel exchange is limited, and Indian value-motivated behavior is the norm. Other urban influences exert a constant pressure to change the urbanized Indian woman, and it is extremely difficult for her to retain her uniqueness.

Migrations in and out of the urban settings are common (Waddell and Watson, 1971). Migration is both a coping mechanism for dealing with the urban pressures and a personal action toward self-actualizing behavior. Indian people often need to rejuvenate their spirit and to seek the friendships, solidarity, cohesiveness, and the few economic advantages that distinguish the reservation from the urban setting. Family members and friends on the reservation provide the lifelong relationships that sustain tribalism of the Native people, and these special relationships parallel the special bond which they have with the land. Preservation of these bonds and relationships is important to Indians for they are not urban Indians or reservation Indians; they are all Native sovereign people. The urban Indian woman's role is to maintain this "connectedness," and she is seeking recognition and realization.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Most research on Indians has been conducted by non-Indians. Building and sharing oneself is an important Indian characteristic. Indian people should be given the opportunity to study this characteristic for they could benefit from the product, as well as the process of the study.

> The scientist's early and continuing decisions have to be used on his own view of nature, his own biases on what is important to abstract from ongoing behavior and what should be grouped with what for conceptual purposes and what should be separated from what, his own hunches as to what kinds of perceptual structuring of nature will best lead to meaningful, true and predictively useful propositions (Berlo, 1967, p. 5).

Berlo continues that a scientist's own values inherently are partial determinants of his work (Berlo, 1967). The Indians' views of nature and their values are different from the non-Indians'. If the fullest potential of any research effort is to be realized, Indian involvement that reflects Indian values is necessary. The National Institute of Education will have to deal with this issue. "Indianness" should be considered for determining the criteria for the selection of the researchers. These principles should form the basis of research on Indians:

1. A commitment that the goal of the research is to develop helpful tools and information first for the betterment of Indian life, and second, for social science.

2. A conscious and productive effort to seek out Indian people (especially elders) to develop the agenda, monitor the research activities, and conduct the research.

3. More opportunities for researchers to work collectively so that sharing and relationship building may be incorporated in the research design.

4. The product of the research will be made available on a large scale to Indian tribes, urban organizations, Indian students, and individual community members.

If these things are realized, Indian people will have the opportunity, the means, and the support to do something creative for themselves, rather than having the non-Indians "process" them, as in the past 200 years. The research effort will be a learning experience for the non-Indian, as well as for the Indian.

The question of personal Indian identity is one which many young and old Indians face. There is a humanistic need to resolve the conflicts of the push and pull forces that rule the lives of contemporary Indians (Waddell and Watson, 1971). Many Indians avoid dealing with this issue because it is so emotionally charged. Discussing this issue threatens to break down personalities that have been built up for a lifetime on the American urban-industrial values. It is a very difficult issue to resolve, and only Indian people themselves can find a resolution. However, Indian people need a resolution to reduce their casualties in health--teenage suicides, alcoholism, high infant mortality rates, and high accidental death rates. The situation is critical and worsens with each denial that "Indianness" is not the issue. We need the resolution of the conflict in order that we may begin to live once again--not only survive, but live as the self-actualized, self-determining people we once were.

The fullest potential of our people can be realized if problem solving and strategies are developed on a traditional humanistic model. Waddell and Watson (1971) suggest a critical study of institutions and an examination of the character of the American social opportunity structures along with more attention to the cultural ideological factors of urban Indians. They also question the lack of emphasis on the "time depths" involved in the issue of urban adjustments.

Research into community development and social planning for urban populations should be considered to replace the crisis intervention nature of the existing Indian service delivery system with the traditional "Indian problem-solving format." A section on cultural values should be developed for a Code of the Indian Service Delivery System to guide the treatment of Indians with social problems.

The conventional scientific approach of research to quantify a need before addressing it needs to be abandoned because it deters action and never really deals with problems. Research needs to be conducted on the positive aspects of the acculturated Native person in order that the Indian community can work together on problem solving. Roles need to be defined for educated Indian people within the Indian community to maximize the available resources and avoid the historical drain-off of Indian resources into the non-Indian community. Once roles are defined and expectations are spelled out for individual behavior of the urban tribal groups, the traditional Native tribal organizational structure can be realized once again. The support systems will be built in, and the factionalism can be reduced. Urban Indian child-rearing practices can be developed to reflect traditional tribal values. The basis for the research is not to develop different models from the traditional reservation systems, but to use them as a foundation for the development of the acculturated models that can build up and maintain Indian groups in the urban setting. Individualism must be abandoned for a group approach.

Research is especially needed to identify the traditional religious teachings and languages to develop cultural curriculums for both reservation and urban populations. Both have dynamic implications for the treatment of Indians' social problems, as well as for the rearing of strong, healthy, and happy Indian children. They are valuable resources that need to be tapped and utilized.

More research is needed into the modal Indian personality and the implications of traditional religions.

Development of model programs for the advancement of the arts, music, and humanities is crucial for the realization of our roles as Native people. In these ways, future research efforts need to be directed to be valuable and worthwhile to the Indian people.

Finally, my recommendations for Indian women to carry out the research:

Adrianna Brown, Awkwesasne Mohawk, State Road, Bombay, New York 12914. Has a B.S. in education; enrolled in a master's program.

Linda Crouse, Allegany Seneca, Box 79, Steamburg, New York, 14783. Has a B.A. and a master's in history.

Sandra Golden, Oklahoma Creek, 2325 Woolsey #13, Berkeley, California 94705. Has a B.A. and is in a public health master's program/alcohol.

Jean Havens, Cattararugus Seneca, RFD 1, Rt. 438, Gowanda, New York 14070. Has a B.A. in journalism.

Janine Jaimison, Tonawanda Seneca, Tonawanda Nation, Basom, New York. Has a B.A. and a master's in Native American studies.

Allison John, Oklahoma Choctaw, 1827 Ward, Berkeley, California. Has a B.A. in fine arts and is working on a master's in business.

Valorie Johnson, Cattaraugus Seneca, Cayuga, Cherokee, 1554 Thistledown Place, Okemos, Michigan 48864. Has a master's in psychology and is in a Ph. D. program in administration.

Brenda LaFrance, Awkwesasne Mohawk, Cook Road, Hogansburg, New York 13655. Has a B.S. in education.

Kally Martin, Awkwesasne Mohawk, St. Regis Road, Awkwesasne, New York. Has a B.A.

Paula Pierce Moreno, Cattaraugus Seneca, RFD 1, Rt. 438, Gowanda, New York 14070. Has a B.S. in education.

Mary MacDonald, Awkwesasne Mohawk, Cook Road, Hogansburg, New York 13655. Has a B.S. in bilingual education.

Kathryn Stewart, Crow/Blackfeet, 2653 Inyo, Oakland, California 94601. Has her B.A. in painting and teaches art.

Emily Tarbell, Awkwesasne Mohawk, RFD, Bombay, New York, 12914. Has her B.S. in education.

Gloria Thompson, Cattaraugus Seneca, 1117 6th St., #37, Albany, California 94710. Nursing degree and enrolled in B.A., Native American studies.

JoEllen Archambault, Sioux, 2340 13th Avenue, Oakland, California 94606. Has a master's in anthropology and is a Ph. D. candidate in anthropology.

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VI. Appendixes

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANTS

The names of the conference participants, their roles, and their affiliations are listed below.

Name and Current Affiliation	Type of Participation	Tribal Affiliation and Professional Affiliation in 1976 (if different)
Carolyn Attneave Professor of Psychology and Adjunct Professor of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences University of Washington NI25 Seattle, WA 98195	Paperwriter Group II	Delaware-Cherokee from Oklahoma; member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Equity in Education
Evelyn Lance Blanchard Portland Area Indian Health Service Federal Building, Room 476 1220 SW. Third Avenue Portland, OR 97204	Paperwriter Group II	Laguna Indian
Agnes Dill Box 314 Isleta, NM 87022	Paperwriter Group I	Isleta-Laguna; Board of Directors for Rural American Indian Women; completed her term as member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Equity in Education in 1979; past president of North American Indian Women's Association
Mary Jane Fate President, North American Indian Women's Association 3.3 Mile Farmer's Coop Road SR 3 Box 30586 Fairbanks, AK 99701	Discussant Group II	Athabaskan Indian from Yukon area of Alaska and from Fairbanks
LaDonna Harris President and Director, Americans for Indian Opportunity 600 2d Street NW., Suite 403 Albuquerque, NM	Discussant Group I	Comanche
JoJo Hunt Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs U.S. Senate 6313 Dirksen Senate Office Building Washington, DC 20510	Paperwriter Group I	Lumbee Indian from North Carolina
Rita Keshena Keshena, WI 54135	Paperwriter Group I	Menominee lawyer; with Wisconsin Judicare, which provides legal services for Indians and the rural poor
Clara Sue Kidwell Associate Professor Native American Studies Program 3415 Dwinelles Hall University of California Berkeley, CA 94720	Paperwriter Group II	Chippewa-Choctaw from Oklahoma

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Trudi Lamb Director, American Indians for Development Meridian, CT	Discussant Group II	Scaghticoke
Eunice Larrabee Cheyenne River Reservation Lantry, SD	Discussant Group I	Sioux from South Dakota; Coordinator of Dakota Women's Organization
Anna Lewis Native American Education New York State Department of Education Albany, NY 12234	Co-Chairperson Group II	Mohawk-Delaware
Marigold Linton Professor of Psychology University of Utah Salt Lake City, UT 84112	Discussant Group II	Cahuilla-Cupeno Indian from California
Patricia Locke National Tribal Chairmen's Association 2760 29th Street Boulder, CO 80301	Chairperson Group I	Sioux-Chippewa; formerly at Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education (WICHE)
Beatrice Medicine Professor of Anthropology University of Wisconsin Madison, WI 53706	Paperwriter Group II	Hunkpapa-Sihasapa Lakota; Professor of Anthropology at Stanford University
Anita Pfeiffer Department of Education University of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87131	Chairperson Group II	Navajo
Helen Maynor Scheirbeck 9128 Maywood Lane Fairfax, VA 22030	Paperwriter Group II	Lumbee Indian from North Carolina
Tillie Walker P.O. Box 513 Mandaree, ND 58757	Paperwriter Group II	Mandan-Hidatsa; Secretary, Three Affiliated Tribes, Fort Berthold Reservation, ND
Della Warrior 8204 Fruit Street NE. Albuquerque, NM 87108	Discussant Group I	Oto from Oklahoma
Henrietta Whiteman Director of Native American Studies and Associate Professor University of Montana at Missoula Missoula, MT 59812 (on leave)	Paperwriter Group I	Southern Cheyenne from Oklahoma; currently Ph. D. graduate student, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque
Agnes Williams	Paperwriter Group II	Seneca from New York; formerly with the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, CA
Rosemary Wood Nursing Center Haskell Indian Junior College Lawrence, KS 66044	Paperwriter Group I	Osage from Pawhuska, Oklahoma; formerly Executive Director of the American Indian Nurses Association

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE OF NIE-FUNDED PROJECTS

The projects listed in this appendix include institutional grants, contract awards, and small and large research grants in progress during 1980. The projects selected for this list are expected to be of special interest to the readers of the proceedings from the minority women's conferences and are culled from a much larger set of awards relevant to minority and women's issues. They should not be considered representative of all NIE-sponsored minority- and women-related projects. Obviously, although NIE will continue to fund projects that address similar issues and the problems of these target populations, the specific substantive areas and focus of inquiry will change from year to year.

Readers interested in more comprehensive and detailed information concerning NIE-sponsored research on minority and women's issues are invited to write for the following publications from: Publications Office, The National Institute of Education, 1200 19th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20208.

1. Minorities and Women's Program
2. A compendium of bilingual education and related projects
3. Sex equity in education: NIE-sponsored projects and publications.

The projects in the following list are arranged according to the program groups monitoring them: Teaching and Learning (T&L), Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (DIP), and Educational Policy and Organization (EPO).

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
National Center for Bilingual Research	Candido Antonio de Leon 4665 Lampson Avenue Los Alamitos	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Research in language acquisition, language functioning, bilingual education; publications.
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education	Joel Gomez 1500 Wilson Blvd. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Reading & Language Studies, T&L; Office of Bilingual Education	Computerized database; information services; technical assistance; toll-free hotline (800)336-4560; 40 language groups
Bilingual effects of community and schools	Steven Arvizu Cross-Cultural Resource Center, California State University Sacramento, CA 95819	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Mexican-American, Puerto Rican & Chicano Students; home and school relationships

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
Bilingual effects of community & schools	Sau-lim Tsang ARC Associates, Inc. 310 8th Street, Suite 220 Oakland, CA 94607	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Chinese students language attitudes; language assessment
Bilingual effects of community & schools	Dillon Platero Navajo Center for Educ. Research 1200 West Apache Road Farmington, NM 87401	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Navajo students
Sources of individual differences in second language acquisition	Lily Wong Fillmore University of California Berkeley, CA 94720	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Cantonese & Spanish-speaking kindergarten students, learning style, social style
Sociolinguistics of literacy: an historical & comparative study	Bernard Spolsky Univ. of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87131	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Model of literacy; Cherokee, Jewish, Navajo, New Mexican, Aymara & Polynesian languages
Oral narratives of bilingual Mexican-American adult basic education	Nancy Ainsworth Michigan State University East Lansing, MI 48824	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Ethnography of speaking; classroom activity
Oral language acquisition among Cherokee	Barbara Powell P.O. Box 769 Tahlequah, OK 74464	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Rural children; mother/child interaction
Relating reading skills of minority bilingual personnel to reading demands of work	Concepcion M. Valadez Univ. of California Los Angeles, CA	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Minority & bilingual persons, industry training job placement
Social organization of participation in four Alaskan cross-cultural classrooms	Wendy Rosen Center for Cross-Cultural Studies Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks, AK 99701	Teaching & Instruction T&L	Native and nonnative teachers; Koyukon Athabaskan Village
Interaction effects of school & home environments on students of varying race, ethnicity, class, & gender	William J. Genova 385 Elliot St. Newton, MA 02164	Teaching & Instruction, T&L	American Chinese, Portuguese, Carribean Black, Armenian, Irish & Jewish students
Social influences on the participation of Mexican-American women in science	Patricia MacCorquodale Southwest Institute for Research on Women, Univ. of Arizona Tucson, AZ 85721	Learning & Development, T&L	Factors facilitating & preventing female participation in Science
Cultural integration of Asian-American professional women	Esther Chow American University Massachusetts & Nebraska Ave. Washington, DC 20016	Learning & Development, T&L	Career development; questionnaire
Development of a guide for research on Asian-Pacific women: Korea & Japan	Hesung Chun Koh Human Relations Areas Files, 2054 Yale	Learning & Development, T&L	Analytic & quality control information; reference guide
Language & cultural determinants to mastery of mathematics concepts by undergraduate Native American students	Charles G. Moore Northern Arizona University Flagstaff, AZ 86011	Learning & Development, T&L	Interviews in university & communities, Hopi; Navajo, Apaches; Hualapais
A Neo-Piagetian approach to test bias	Edward A. DeAvila P.O. Box 770 Larkspur, CA 94939	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation, T&L	Cultural differences test validity, test bias, Anglo, Black, & Mexican-American students

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
An ethnographic analysis of testing & the Navajo student	David Bachelor Southwest Research Associates P.O. Box 4092 Albuquerque, NM 87196	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation, T&L	Classroom observation of testing process
Effects of testwiseness on the reading achievement scores of minority populations	Stephen Powers Tucson Unified School District, Research & Evaluation Dept. 1010 E. 10th St. Tucson, AZ 85719	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation,	Black, Mexican-American, Native American, Anglo, elementary & junior high
Patterns of internal and external support structures, world views, & strategies used by urban Indian children who are successful in school	Marigold Linton Minneapolis Public Schools, Indian Education Section 807 N.E. Broadway Minneapolis, MN 55413	Home, Community & Work, T&L	Urban schools; parental interviews
Puerto Rican children's informal learning events at home	Evelyn Jacob Center for Applied Linguistics 3520 Prospect St. N.W. Washington, DC 20007	Home, Community and Work, T&L	Observational data; learning events at home
Home-school community linkages: a study of educational equity for Punjabi youth	Margaret A. Gibson California State University Sacramento, CA 95819	Home, Community and Work, T&L	Interviews, comparative case study
Summer institute on advanced study on educational research for Asian Americans	Sau-Lim Tsang Berkeley Unified School District 2168 Shattuck Ave. 3rd Floor Berkeley, CA 94704	Minorities & Women Program, DIP	Courses in research methodology; sociolinguistics
Navajo philosophy of education: its traditional sources and contemporary and national contexts	Dillon Platero Dine Biolta Assn. Univ. of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87103	Minorities & Women, DIP	Advanced research
Asian & Pacific American educational research seminars	Kenyon S. Chan National Assn. of Asian & Pacific American Education, P.O. Box 3487 Seattle, WA 98114	Minorities & Women Program, DIP	Professional training; immigrant students; research publications
Increasing participation by minorities & women in advanced study & research in education	Eduardo Marenco, Jr. National Director for Policy Research, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund 28 Geary Street San Francisco, CA 94108	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Civil rights policy research, career development
Capacity building in minority institutions an alternative model for access to non-traditional research opportunities	Maria Cerda Latino Institute 55 E. Jackson, Suite 2150 Chicago, IL 60604	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Latino researchers; publications; research support services
Office for Advanced Research in Hispanic Education	Leonard A. Valverde Univ. of Texas Educational Bldg. #310 Austin, TX 78712	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Policy research; research on immigrant students, bilingual education, overcoming financial inequity

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
California State Department of Education Program: Increasing participation of minorities & women professionals in educational research	Heidi Dulay Bloomsbury West, Inc. 1111 Market St., 4th Fl. San Francisco, CA 94111	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Study program; mentor relationship
Evaluation training opportunities in Minnesota Indian bicultural project	Will Antell Minnesota Dept. of Educ. Capitol Square Bldg. 550 Cedar St. St. Paul, MN 55101	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Workshop; skill development
National Commission on Working Women	Joan Goodin Nat'l. Manpower Inst. 1211 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Washington, DC 20036	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Working women
School Finance: The problem of equity for poor and minority children	Robert Brischetto Trinity University San Antonio, TX 78284	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Minority group; State legislation
Women Facing Mid-Career Changes	Adeline Naiman Educational Development Center, Inc. 55 Chapel St. Newton, MA 02160	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Career education; Women's Education; Film
The implementation of equal educational opportunity by the Office for Civil Rights in the City of New York	Michael Rebell Rebell & Krieger 230 Park Ave. New York City, NY 10017	Program on Law and Public Management	Civil Rights; administrative reform
Education & the development of an urban female labor	Carl Kaestle Univ. of Wisconsin Madison, WI 53706	Program on Law and Public Management	School industry relationship; sex discrimination
Indian education reform	Myron Jones Indian Education Training, Inc. 1110 Pennsylvania N.E. Albuquerque, NM 87110	Program on Law and Public Management	
Citizen organization: a study of citizen participation in educational decision-making	Don Davies Institute for Responsive Education 704 Commonwealth Ave. Boston, MA 02215	Educational Organizations & Local Communities, EPO	School community relationship, minority groups, urban schools
Women & minorities in the principalship	M. Bagley JWK International Corp. 7617 Little River Annandale, VA 22003	Educational Organizations, and Local Communities, EPO	Minority women, selection and training procedures
Women on law faculties	Susan Weisberg American Bar Foundation 1155 East 60th St. Chicago, IL 60637	Educational Organization and Local Communities, EPO	Women professors, sex discrimination national survey
Urban school organizations and the American working class: an historical analysis	Ira Katznelson Univ. of Chicago 5828 S. Univ. Ave. Chicago, IL 60637	Educational Organizations and Local Communities, EPO	Working class men and women, their institutions, churches, labor unions, and political parties

APPENDIX C

The paper by JoJo Hunt was commissioned by the Women's Research Group at NIE at the same time as the background papers previously presented in this volume. However, it was not available for discussion and critical review by the participants at the time of the conference. Consequently, it cannot be included as part of the conference proceedings; it is included here for the interested reader.

AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN: THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

JoJo Hunt

INTRODUCTION

Before any attempt can be made to define, describe, or otherwise discuss the relationship of American Indian women to the United States Government, one must look first at the tribes and communities from which they come. The American Indian population is unique in that rather than immediately making an assessment of Indian women as individuals or as a class and their relationship(s) with the Government, the first determination must be one of tribal or community origin. Although Indian women are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside, the key factor in any Indian-Government relationship is the status of the tribe or community of origin.

The American Indian population has had a varying amount of involvement with the United States Government, depending on the location of the Indian community and its status. The Federal Government, through the agency most involved in Indian matters, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and through the enactments of a sometimes not too enlightened Congress, generally has placed various Indian tribes and communities into four general categories, with some variations. Without arguing the validity of the terms or the legality of the statuses at this point, the categories are: (1) federally recognized Indian tribes and Alaskan native villages; (2) federally terminated Indian tribes and rancherias; (3) nonfederally recognized Indian tribes and communities; and (4) urban Indians. The federally recognized tribes and villages generally are located west of the Mississippi River, although there are a few exceptions in the East. The federally terminated tribes and rancherias are all located west of the Mississippi, with the exception of one terminated tribe in South Carolina (Oregon boasts the largest number of terminated tribes). The nonfederally recognized Indian tribes and communities are located all across America, but the greatest concentrations are along the East and West Coasts; urban Indians are located throughout America's cities, with large concentrations in Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Chicago, as well as sizable populations in Boston, Baltimore, and Charlotte, North Carolina.

Nonfederally Recognized Indian Tribes and Communities

Beginning in the East with the so-called nonfederally recognized tribes and communities, one will find more than 200,000 Native Americans living east of the Mississippi River.[1] Of this number, fewer than 15,000 receive benefits from the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the Indian Health Service.[2] The saga of the Eastern Indian has been explained as follows:

> Although Eastern Indians played an immensely important role in the formulation and development of American Indian policy (it was the colonists' and confederation's experiences with these tribes that set the basis for the United States policy), they have for the most part never had a special relationship with the federal government. The frontier was pushed westward, beyond them. Those that survived, or were not removed, were left behind in scattered communities. The lessons the new government had learned from them and for which they paid so much were used to 'benefit' the tribes in the West. Since then they have been excluded from governmental services and other federal statistics, and they, for the most part, are not seen as being a part of Indian affairs or problems.[3]

For the most part, these Indians live in rural areas, although some have moved to metropolitan regions. They generally live on State reservations,[4] on other nontaxable parcels of land,[5] or in rural communities.

The other nonfederally recognized Indian tribes and communities are located throughout the country, but are concentrated on the West Coast. The reasons for their nonfederal status include the fact that, although there were six treaties made in Washington State to formalize a relationship between the Indians and the United States, the treaties had bunched diverse tribes together to be sent off to the same reservations. Many individuals and tribes either left the reservations or did not move in the beginning because of the tribal differences or because the reservations could not support their needs for food and space.[6] Some Washington tribes were not recognized by U.S. representatives at all even though they resided in areas ceded by the treaties or were not within the ceded areas; others never attended a treaty-making session and did not cede their lands.[7] In California in the early 1850's, 18 treaties were made with a total of 140 tribes, but none was ever ratified;[8] however, lands for Indians were later set aside as reservations and rancherias under various Acts of Congress and through various Executive Orders.[9] These statutes and Executive proclamations did not cover all Californian Indians and left a population which is now nonfederally recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Oregon also had some tribes that would be considered nonfederally recognized today, but they were all dispersed by the Act terminating tribes in Western Oregon in 1954![10]

This lack of recognition by, and interaction with, the Federal Government has provided for State assumption of jurisdiction and responsibility for the provision of services. The problem with this is that the States are not really providing the services. Only Maine and New York have attempted provision of special services on a regular, continuous basis; these services have been shown to be inadequate and are provided primarily for Indians living on the reservations.[11]

The special Federal Indian programs available to nonfederally recognized Indians are primarily: (1) the Indian Education Act programs;[12] (2) the Indian manpower programs under Section 302 of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973;[13] and (3) the programs provided through the Office of Native American Programs (ONAP) authorized in 1974.[14] There are no special Federal Indian health services available to nonfederally recognized Indians; only one alcoholism program has been funded by the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) for such Indians. For fiscal year 1975, approximately 11.1 percent of the total Indian manpower's primary sponsors and approximately 10.87 percent of the total ONAP grantees significantly affected terminated and nonfederally recognized Indian communities.[15] Similar statistics for the Indian Education Act programs are unavailable. It is estimated that approximately one half of the total Indian population is classified as terminated or nonfederally recognized.[16]

The above discussion and any information which the Bureau of Indian Affairs might provide certainly would lead one to believe that the nonfederally recognized Indian woman has, by virtue of her tribe or community's status, a relationship with the Federal Government which is no more than that of any ordinary citizen, and possibly less. A few programs are available for all Indians, but these quite often provide local units of government with sufficient excuse to exclude the Indian woman from possibly more stable programs provided by them. The Indian programs are designed to meet special immediate needs, if her community is lucky enough to be funded. The authorizations for such programs cover only a few years; so if her tribe or community is able to establish a program, it probably will not exist for too long, and short-lived programs probably have little long-range effect on her community. Regardless of any promises the Federal Government or its predecessor may have made to her forefathers, regardless of the amount of land taken from her people without compensation, the Indian woman can expect nothing extra from the Federal Government. Obviously, the Passamaquoddy decision,[17] discussed earlier in a footnote, affects much of this, but at the moment, little has been done by the Federal Government to provide services to Indians currently labeled as nonfederally recognized. It appears that the tribes in Maine will receive services soon, but the other tribes and communities are still waiting, perhaps for a long while.

Federally Recognized Indian Tribes and Native Villages

The 226 federally recognized tribes and the 200 Native villages in Alaska, have a special relationship acknowledged by the United States Government.[18] In 1831, Chief Justice Marshall, in Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, characterized the relationship as follows:

> Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and, heretofore, unquestioned right to the lands they occupy and that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile, they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.[19]

In 1832, in Worcester v. Georgia, Chief Justice Marshall declared the following with respect to the Indians' right of sovereignty:

> All of these acts, . . . manifestly consider the several Indian nations as distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive, and having a right to all the lands within those boundaries, which is not only acknowledged, but guaranteed by the United States.[20]

The jurisdiction of federally recognized Indian tribes derives primarily from the tribes' own sovereignty and is not a delegation from the United States. The laws of the United States are not sources of tribal authority.[21] Only Congress can limit the authority of the tribes in its exercise of plenary control over Indian affairs.[22] The jurisdiction of the various States over Indians within Indian country derives exclusively from grants of authority given them by the Federal Government, as enacted by Congress.[23]

In 1936, the Solicitor for the Department of the Interior indicated the dual relationship of federally recognized Indians as wards and as citizens:

> It is undisputed that the Federal Government has no responsibility of guardianship toward Indians who have no property held in trust by the Federal Government, who are not living on a reservation and who have severed their tribal relations. The State has full control over and responsibility for them. But those Indians who remain wards of the Federal Government are not in a water-tight compartment into which State laws and functions

> do not penetrate. Ward Indians share in State burdens and privileges although entitled to Federal protection in various ways. This dual relationship may be illustrated by the following facts.
>
> Federal guardianship of ward Indians rests primarily upon the property of the Indians which is held in trust by the Federal Government. The Federal Government may engage in litigation on behalf of an Indian to protect his restricted property but has no legal interest in other civil suits in which he may be involved. United States v. Dewey County, 14 Fed. 2d 784 (D.S.D. 1926). The Federal Government also has certain criminal jurisdiction over areas reserved by it for Indians by virtue of the status of the land. The Federal Government is also morally bound to advance their civilization and ability for self-support. But an Indian ward, whether a ward because of his trust property or the maintenance of tribal relations, as a person and a citizen of the State where he resides, has the benefit and is subject to State laws in manifold phases of his life. The necessity of proving abandonment of tribal relations in order to show an Indian a citizen and entitled to a citizen's rights is unnecessary in view of the citizenship act of June 2, 1924, supra. An Indian ward votes or is entitled to vote. United States v. Dewey County, supra; Anderson v. Mathews, 174 Cal. 537, 163 Pac. 902; Swift v. Leach, 45 N.D. 437, 178 N.W. 437. His children are entitled to attend public schools even though a Federal Indian school is available. LaDuke v. Melin, supra; United States v. Dewey County, supra; Piper v. Big Pine School Dist., 193 Cal. 664, 226 Pac. 926. He may sue and be sued in State courts. In re Celestine, 114 Fed. 551 (D. Wash. 1902); Swift v. Leach, supra; Brown v. Anderson, 61 Okla. 136, 160 Pac. 724. His ordinary contracts and engagements are subject to State law, Luigi Marre and Cattle Co. v. Roses, 34 P. 2d 195 (Cal. 1934), and his personal conduct is subject to State law except upon reserved land. State v. Morrin, 136 Wis. 552, 117 N.W. 1006 . . . .[24]

Although the above described dual relationship exists, some other protections, which show the advantages of Federal Indian status, are described as follows:

> The absence of state civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian activities and property within the boundaries of the reservation gives tribal governments a sovereign flexibility in self-government and economic planning not available outside of Indian Country. Not only is restricted Indian land exempt from property taxation, but personal property used on the reservation is also non-taxable. State and local zoning laws do not apply on the reservation, nor do licensing and registration requirements. Income earned by an Indian on a reservation is not subject to state income taxation and sales taking place on the reservation are exempt from state and local sales taxes.[25]

Certain Federal services are provided exclusively for the federally recognized Indian tribes and individuals. Such programs and services are provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and by the Indian Health Service. Initially, any Federal Indian services were tied to specific treaty provisions; however, the practice of negotiating and providing benefits via treaties with individual tribes or groups of tribes was ended in 1871[26] through a provision attached to the Indian Appropriation Act of 1871.[27] Therefore, a number of tribes which presently receive Federal benefits never signed treaties with the United States.[28] Today, services, programs, and benefits are provided under the authority of Federal statutes.

There is a wide range of services for federally recognized Indians. The following indicates some of such services:

> Starting in 1819 the federal government began to provide special services to Indians through general federal statutes. Today practically all Bureau of Indian Affairs expenditures are made pursuant to such general statutes. The Snyder Act, the statute under which most of these funds are appropriated, authorizes the Bureau to expend such monies as Congress may appropriate 'for the benefit, care, and assistance of the Indians throughout the United States.' Specifically authorized are expenditures for education, health and welfare, economic development, including property management, capital improvements, and employment of technicians, Indian police and judges. The Secretary of the Interior is also authorized to contract with any state, political sub-division, private institution or corporation for the provision of health, education, and welfare to Indians.
>
> In addition to programs administered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian tribes are entitled to special preference in a number of other programs administered by the federal bureaucracy. Indian tribes are also eligible for Law Enforcement Assistance Planning grants, and Revenue Sharing.[29]

The Snyder Act,[30] the Johnson-O'Malley Act[31] (which authorizes the above-mentioned contracting with entities for the provision of health, education, and welfare services to Indians[32]), and other statutes under which most of the Bureau of Indian Affairs services are authorized have open-ended authorizations, wherein no time limitations or funding ceilings are imposed on the administration of such services and programs. Open-ended authorizations insure that these programs can continue on a more stable basis than could programs designed for CETA, the Indian Education Act, and ONAP, in that Congress must perform one action--the allocation of funds to carry out programs--rather than both allocation and renewal of the substantive portions of the Act establishing the services or programs.

Of course, the funding levels for Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian Health Service programs and the other programs in various agencies do not meet the total needs of the federally recognized Indian population. Although federally recognized Indian tribes may participate in programs conducted under CETA, the Indian Education Act and ONAP, as well as the many other programs which are not available to the various Indian tribes and communities, the need far outweighs the funding. Congress is not forced to appropriate funds for any Indians and obviously may under-appropriate for any program. Congress also has the power to eliminate any tribe from the funding in accordance with the theory of its plenary power over Indian affairs, which the courts steadfastly have upheld.

The above discussion leads one to believe that there is a special relationship between the federally recognized Indian woman and the Federal Government because of the relationship between her tribe and the Government. The federally recognized Indian woman can expect services, programs, and benefits if the Federal Government continues to acknowledge the relationship and if Congress continues to appropriate funds to provide the attendant services. However, she need not expect that Congress will appropriate enough money to bring her tribe and reservation or trust land out of the depths of the bottom level of socio-economic disaster (which has plagued many Federal Indian reservations for so long), to real progress and prosperity.

Terminated Indian Tribes and Rancherias

The terminated Indian tribes and rancherias have been eliminated from the Federal-Indian relationship by means of Congressional enactments. Well over 100 tribes, bands, and rancherias were terminated in the 1950's and early 1960's. The Federal termination statutes provided for the cessation of the Federal-Indian relationship, whether that bond was established through treaty or otherwise.[33] The thrust was to eliminate the reservations and to turn Indian affairs over to the various States.[34] Through termination, Indians would become subject to State control without any Federal support or restrictions; Indian land would no longer be held in trust and would be fully taxable and alienable, just like non-Indian land in the States, and Federal health, education, and general assistance would be terminated.[35] This classification of Indians clearly shows the power Congress has exercised over tribes of Indians.

The years since the tribes were officially terminated show that termination has made life more difficult for the Indians.[36] According to the Task Force on Terminated and Nonfederally Recognized Indians, Task Force No. 10 of the American Indian Policy Review Commission (a Congressional special commission to review the Federal Indian policies), some of the effects of termination are:

> Termination has resulted in the loss of tribal lands and the disintegration of tribal society, has weakened tribal organizations and placed cultural identity in jeopardy, has left those most in need, the young, the old, the sick, without adequate programs to help them, has eliminated special federal services and rights as Indians and has resulted in the exploitation of tribal members.[37]

The termination concept was not new in the 1950's. In fact, there were provisions in certain treaties which called for the termination of tribal existence.[38] The 1942 Edition of Cohen's Handbook on Federal Indian Law includes the following passage:

> Given adequate evidence of the existence of a tribe during some period in the remote or recent past, the question may always be raised: Has the existence of this tribe been terminated in some way?
>
> Generally speaking, the termination of tribal existence is shown positively by act of Congress, treaty provision, or tribal action or negatively by the cessation of collective action and collective recognition. The forms of such collective action and collective recognition which are considered criteria of tribal existence have already been discussed.
>
> The view was once widely entertained that tribal membership was legally incompatible with United States citizenship. Thus a number of early treaties and statutes provided that a given tribe should be dissolved when its members became citizens. Dissolution of the tribe required division of property, and this meant allotment of tribal lands and per capita division of tribal funds.[39]

The flurry of Congressional termination acts in the 1950's resulted in the termination of many tribes, bands, and rancherias. Table 1, prepared by Charles F. Wilkinson, indicates, in chronological order, the various termination acts, the groups affected, and the effective dates of termination.[40]

From the terminations in the 1950's, only the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin has been restored to Federal status via the Menominee Restoration Act;[41] however, this is not the first restoration of a tribe. In fact, in the century preceding the Menominee restoration, there were several examples of the reestablishment of Federal control after all such authority has been relinquished.[42] Cohen provides the following account:

> The efforts to terminate the existence of the Wyandotte Tribe apparently began in 1850, in a treaty by which that tribe, having 'manifest or anxious desire to extinguish their tribal or national character and become citizens of the United States,' agreed 'that their existence, as a nation or tribe, shall terminate and become extinct upon the ratification of this treaty . . . .' The treaty was ratified on September 24, 1850. Apparently the extinguisher clause did not work, for another treaty containing similar provisions for the extinguishment of tribal existence was entered into by the supposedly nonexistent tribe some 5 years later. In 1935, Congress again provided for the final distribution of the funds belonging to the Wyandotte

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TABLE 1

TERMINATION ACTS BY CONGRESS

Group	Number	Acres	State	Authorizing statute (date)		Effective date
Menominee	3270	233,881	Wisc.	68 Stat. 250	(1954)	1961
Klamath	2133	862,662	Ore.	68 Stat. 718	(1954)	1961
Western Oregon*	2081	2,158	Ore.	68 Stat. 724	(1954)	1956
Alabama-Coushatta	450	3,200	Texas	68 Stat. 768	(1954)	1955
Mixed-Blood Utes	490	211,430	Utah	68 Stat. 868	(1954)	1961
Southern Pauite	232	42,839	Utah	68 Stat. 1099	(1954)	1957
Lower Lake Rancheria	unk.	unk.	Calif.	70 Stat. 58	(1956)	1956
Peoria	unk.	unk.	Okla.	70 Stat. 937	(1956)	1959
Ottawa	630	0	Okla.	70 Stat. 963	(1957)	1959
Coyote Valley Ranch.	unk.	unk.	Calif.	71 Stat. 283	(1957)	1957
Calif. Rancheria Act**	1107	4,317	Calif.	72 Stat. 619	(1958)	1961-70
Catawba	631	834	S. C.	73 Stat. 592	(1959)	1962
Ponca	442	834	Neb.	76 Stat. 429	(1962)	1966

*61 tribes and bands. Figures listed are aggregates.
**37 or 38 rancherias. Figures listed are aggregates.

Tribe. Even this, apparently, did not interfere with the continued functioning of the tribe, and on July 24, 1937, the chief of the tribe certified that the members of the tribe, by a unanimous vote, had adopted a tribal constitution under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act perpetuating the traditional tribal organization.

Various other attempts to terminate tribal relations by treaty or act of Congress have proved abortive. These legislative experiences suggest that the dissolution of tribal existence is easier to decree than to effect, and indicate the value of a certain skepticism in considering current legislative proposals looking to the dissolution of all or some Indian tribes. They also point to the reasons for the judicial rule that an exercise of the federal power to dissolve a tribe must be demonstrated by statutory or treaty provisions which are positive and unambiguous.[43]

The Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma was again the subject of a termination act,[44] passed in 1956, but the proclamation declaring that the Federal trust relationship has terminated has never been published in the Federal Register, as required by section 13 of the Act.[45] The Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma still survives as a federally recognized tribe!

The Federal services available to terminated Indian tribes, bands, and rancherias[46] are very similar to those described above for nonfederally recognized Indians.[47] Primarily those services are authorized by the Indian Education Act, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, and the Native American Programs Act.

This discussion of terminated Indian tribes and rancherias would lead one to believe that terminated Indian women have no special relationship with the Federal Government. The only relationship would appear to be that of citizens of the United States or of the State in which they reside. However, courts have, in some cases, held that certain terminated Indians who possessed treaty fishing rights at the time of enactment of the termination act retain such rights even though tribal membership has been relinquished or the reservation has been reduced in size pursuant to its provisions.[48] In general, however, the terminated Indian women can expect nothing special from the Federal Government.

Urban Indians

Urban Indian populations are composed of members of one of the abovementioned categories or descendants of such members. Urban Indians assume the characteristic relationships of the community or tribe of origin when they return home; various Federal services for other Indians then become available. The urban Indian who is a member of a federally recognized tribe is, in effect, a "bastard child" of the relationship because such Indians cannot reap any of the benefits while in the city.[49]

The urban Indian whose tribe or community of origin is either nonfederally recognized or terminated is in practically the same situation in the city as at home. The above sections on terminated and nonfederally recognized Indian tribes and communities indicate the kinds of services for which all Indians are eligible and for which the various Indian tribes, communities, and organizations may apply. These programs are also available for urban organizations.

The urban Indian woman from a federally recognized tribe has a relationship with the Federal Government, depending on her location. If she goes back to the Federal reservation, then her relationship is a special one derived from the trust which her tribe has for the Federal Government. If she stays in the city, then she might as well be nonfederally recognized or terminated, as the relationship is realistically the same and the services available are basically the same, except in a few cases wherein health clinics funded by the Indian Health Service as pilot projects in cities with high concentrations of Indian people (such as Minneapolis, Oklahoma City, etc.) provide some services to urban federally recognized Indians.

Of course, the location of terminated and nonfederally recognized Indian women does not really make any difference, and the urban woman is eligible for the same services as the woman in the home community if there is an urban organization to provide such programs and services.

Other Indians

Other categories developed from existing ones are beginning to emerge. For example, there are direct decendants of federally recognized Indians who, for various reasons, are not members of the tribe to which one of their parents belong; yet these offspring are obviously Indians. This kind of situation occurs when a tribe requires that a person be born on the reservation to be an enrolled member of the tribe, but the offspring is born in a city. This situation may also arise if a particular tribe requires a certain blood quantum of that tribe's blood only, but the child's parents are from different tribes, and the child may not have the requisite quantum of blood of either tribe, even though the combined Indian blood may be near fullblood. It is well accepted that tribes have the right to determine their memberships, but situations such as described above often create nonfederally recognized individual Indians who, unless they become involved with an urban organization, cannot receive any Indian-oriented social services.

In California, another category which has emerged is that of unterminated individual Indians. When rancherias were terminated, the members were included on final termination rolls. Over the years, for various reasons, individuals have been able to get themselves removed from the termination rolls and are now unterminated. Although they have no tribal structure as such, they are eligible for individual services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service.

There are also individuals in States such as Michigan and North Carolina, as well as California, who are eligible for individual Indian services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but whose tribes or groups are not federally recognized on reservations. This category consists of federally recognized individual Indians.

The Indian woman who is an offspring of federally recognized parents from reservations, but who has not been enrolled in either tribe for whatever reason, need not expect anything from the Federal Government and has no special relationship because she is not a member of a federally recognized tribe. If she is affiliated with an urban Indian organization, she may receive the services mentioned above for urban Indians.

The Indian woman who is either an unterminated or a federally recognized individual Indian really has no special relationship with the Federal Government, but she is entitled to individual Indian services, such as education benefits, health services, etc., from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service; however, the entire range of services available to Indians who are members of, and live within, federally recognized tribes are not available to her.

The relationships discussed above are abstract as to the effect they have on the lives of Indian women. The statistics, where available, hardly prove any point with respect to any given area of concern. However, in the next section, we will show some of the real aspects of these relationships.

EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

> The first Americans--the Indians--are the most deprived and most isolated minority group in the Nation. On virtually every scale of measurement--employment, income, education, health--the condition of the Indian people ranks at the bottom.[50]

This writer knows of no previous effort to compare the educational achievement and employment statistics of American Indian women of the four major classifications of community of origin. This attempt utilizes census and other data first to describe some general social characteristics of the Indian population and, second, to compare Indian women of the four classifications to each other with respect to education and employment. The comparison of Indian women is based on the most accurate data available, whether they are regional, State, county, or tribal.

The Indian population lags behind the rest of the Nation in many social and economic aspects of life; however, many important advances have been made by Indians.[51] More than half of the Indian people between the ages of 3 and 34 were attending school in 1970, and about 95 percent of the children 7 to 13 years old were in school.[52] The Indian enrollment in college has more than doubled since 1960.[53]

The Indian population growth rate is above the national rate; between 1960 and 1970, the Indian population increased by 51 percent.[54] The Indian population is younger than the population as a whole: the median age for Indians is 20.4 years--19.9 for males, 20.9 for females--while the national median age is 28.1.[55]

Nearly half of the Indian population (49.7 percent) is concentrated in the West, more than a fourth is in the South, almost a fifth in the North Central region, and about 5 percent in the Northeast.[56] Indian people are leaving the reservations and rural areas in rapidly increasing numbers for urban areas. In 1970, nearly half of the Indian population resided in urban areas, as compared to less than one-third in 1960.[57]

The median family income for Indians was $5,832 in 1969, as compared to $9,590 for the population as a whole.[58] Indians in the Northeast had the highest median family income at $7,437, while the South had the lowest at $5,624.[59] In 30 metropolitan areas, where the Indian population numbered at least 2,500 in 1969, the median family income ranged from $3,389 in Tucson, Arizona, to $10,000 in Detroit, Michigan and Washington, D.C.[60] On reservations, median family income ranged from $2,500 on the Papago Reservation in Arizona, to $6,115 on the Laguna Reservation in New Mexico.[61] In 1969, nearly 40 percent of the total number of Indians were living below the low-income or poverty level, as compared to 13.7 percent for the total U.S. population.[62]

On the national level, there are 388,210 American Indian women and the following regional distribution by percentages is:[63]

TABLE 2

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN

Northeast	24,098	6.2%
North Central	74,402	19.2%
South	97,851	25.2%
West	191,859	49.4%

Since the primary focus of this section is the employment and educational attainment of American Indian women, there is special interest in the age groups 16 and over and 25 to 34 years old, with regard to employment and educational achievement, respectively. The total national number of Indian women within the potential work force of 16 to 64 years in 1970 was 210,160[64] --54.1 percent of the total American Indian female population.[65]

Available census data have been gathered to compare Indian women of the four major classifications of community origin with respect to education and employment. Table 3 provides selected educational data on the total U.S. American Indian female population, 25 to 34 years old, and for at least one representative of each of the major classifications. The table also indicates the total number of Indian women in the United States, 16 years old and over, with pertinent employment and income data for the total and selected representatives.

The selections of federally recognized tribes and urban populations were made at random, but were designed to reflect the range of data and the differences within the respective class both geographically and with respect to the uniqueness of each group and its data. The nonfederally recognized and terminated representatives used in the table are the only members of their respective classifications on which the pertinent data are available. All data were taken from the report on American Indians compiled by the Bureau of the Census.[66]

The data for the Lumbee and Kiowa reflect tribal totals, including data on members of the tribes in urban areas. The Menominee data cover those living on the reservation (which was really Menominee County, Wisconsin, as the reservation was in terminated status at the time of the taking of the 1970 census, although it has since been restored to Federal status) and eliminate the members of the tribe in urban areas. The data on the Laguna and Standing Rock Reservations do not include urban tribal members, and the urban Indian population data for the three selected cities are for those respective standard metropolitan statistical areas.

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TABLE 3

EDUCATIONAL DATA ON U.S. AMERICAN INDIAN FEMALE POPULATION

	Nonfederally recognized tribe	Federally recognized tribe			Terminated tribe	Urban Indian populations			United States
FEMALE, 16 years old and over	Lumbee 8,133	Laguna Pueblo (res.) 827	Standing Rock (res.) 828	Kiowa 1,252	Menominee res. term-- at time of Census 579	Tucson, Ariz. 2,608	Los Angeles 8,484	Wash., D.C. 1,073	Total 233,266
EDUCATION									
Female, 25 to 34 years old	1,769	201	164	245	81	547	2,026	325	50,111
Elementary:									
Less than 5 years	117	--	--	--	--	34	61	11	3,488
5 to 7 years	229	14	9	--	--	108	148	--	4,448
8 years	239	--	22	13	9	81	115	20	4,460
High School:									
1 to 3 years	580	58	61	93	36	133	614	41	15,081
4 years	437	125	44	105	24	153	703	128	15,888
College:									
1 to 3 years	100	--	28	28	12	33	312	63	4,610
4 years or more	67	4	--	5	--	5	73	62	1,956
Percentage with at least 4 years high school	34.1	64.2	43.9	56.7	44.4	34.9	53.7	77.8	44.8
Percentage with at least 4 years college	3.8	2	0	2	0	.9	3.6	19.1	3.9
EMPLOYMENT									
Civilian labor force	3,462	352	319	457	203	514	3,711	680	82,122
Employed	3,163	337	235	380	194	475	3,405	653	73,756
Unemployed	299	15	84	77	9	39	306	27	8,356
Percent unemployed	8.6	4.3	26.3	16.8	4.4	7.6	8.2	4.0	10.2
Not in labor force	4,666	475	509	795	376	2,094	4,769	382	150,872
Percent of total in civilian labor force	42.6	42.6	38.5	36.5	35.1	19.7	43.7	63.4	35.2
Median income	$1,997	$1,440	$1,447	$1,458	$1,767	$1,214	$2,582	$4,791	$1,697

The table indicates that the available data cannot readily be used to assess various classifications of Indian women. The lack of data on terminated and nonfederally recognized Indians adds to the problem, but one can see from the data presented on the three federally recognized tribes and the three urban populations that the uniqueness of each Indian community is evident. The terminated and nonfederally recognized Indian communities are not represented adequately in the sample. The Menominee Tribe is no longer a terminated tribe, and its termination was much different from that of other tribes. The Lumbee Indians, the main body of whom are located in North Carolina, are the largest group of nonfederally recognized Indians and have had advantages (such as a local State-supported college established and operated only for Indians until desegregation became the norm in the 1950's and 60's) which many other small nonfederally recognized groups have not had. In fact, the low percentages in the various categories for Tucson probably reflect the presence of a relatively large number of Yaqui Indians, a nonfederally recognized group of Indians located in two villages.

However, in comparing the statistics which are available, one finds that the Lumbee Indian women and the Tucson Indian women had the lowest percentage of high school graduates in 1970 in the 25 to 34 age group. Nevertheless, the Lumbee Indian women, because of the access to the local State-supported college, had the highest percentage of college graduates, with the exception of Washington, D.C., and were just slightly below the national average for Indian women in the United States in that category.

In 1970, Washington, D.C., had the highest number of high school and college graduates, the lowest unemployment rate, the highest percentage of the total Indian female population in the civilian labor force, and the highest median income of the selected representative groups. The Indian population in Washington is also unique in that many Indians moved to the area to work in Government, and many are employed by agencies serving Indians. Obviously, the better educated qualify for available Government jobs and receive higher salaries.

The Standing Rock Reservation had the highest unemployment rate and, in 1970, the lowest percentage of college graduates of the representative groups; however, the percentage of high school graduates was third from the bottom and within 1 percent of the U.S. average for Indian women.

The only conclusions that can be made from the analysis of available data are that: (1) the various Indian communities are unique; (2) the data are inadequate to generalize about terminated and nonfederally recognized Indians; (3) the federally recognized tribes with eligibility for programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Health Service, and other Federal agencies, vary in socioeconomic status, as do those in metropolitan areas where no BIA or IHS benefits are available, for the most part; and (4) according to most socioeconomic indicators, most Indian women, regardless of their status with the Federal Government, rank at the bottom.

Further belaboring of the lack of data and that Indians rank at the bottom on virtually every scale of measurement will serve no useful purpose here. The comparison of Indians to Indians generally compares poor to poor. However, there are many things that can be done to change the picture depicted by the 1970 census figures.

Obviously, some things have changed since the last census, including added educational opportunities through increased scholarship funds, participation by Indians in the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant program, special programs funded under the authority of the Indian Education Act, other special scholarship programs for Indians to attend graduate and professional schools, and so forth. In the 1970's, the various community-based manpower programs have allotted funds to tribes and Indian community organizations to provide employment opportunities and services to their people; however, it is not clear that such programs are not band-aid measures to help an overall crippled economy. It is not evident that they have helped develop marketable skills and thereby have increased employability of the participating Indians.

From the statistics on Indian women of every classification, it is clear that problems and needs will not disappear overnight, but the process of effectively dealing with them can be hastened. The National Institute of Education, for which this paper is written, can help by aiding Indian women, tribes, communities, and organizations in: (1) assessing their educational and data needs; (2) providing research and development grants for the development of data, for management systems and for the capabilities to enable Indian tribes and communities to determine their needs, document them, and go about finding resources to deal with them; and (3) developing and managing programs and natural and human resources so Indian people can help themselves.

NOTES

[1] "Eastern Indians--The Invisible Remnants," The National Indian Law Library Announcements 1 No. 5, p.1.

[2] Susan M. Stevens, "Non-Federal Status of Eastern Indians, With Particular Reference to Maine," p. 1. (Unpublished paper)

[3] "Eastern Indians. . .," supra, pp. 1-2. However, see Joint Tribal Council of the Passamaquoddy Tribe v. Morton, 388 F. Supp. 649 (1974), affirmed 528 F. 2d 370 (1975), in which the court holds that the Nonintercourse Act establishes a trust relationship, that it applies to all tribes and that it imposed upon the United States a trust responsibility to protect the land of all tribes. See also Thomas N. Tureen, "Federal Recognition and the Passamaquoddy Decision," a paper prepared for Task Force No. 10, American Indian Policy Review Commission, Washington, D.C.

[4] There are State reservations in Maine, Connecticut, Massachusetts (no Indian occupancy currently), New York, Virginia, and South Carolina (terminated tribe). There are also two State reservations to the west in Texas (one is a terminated tribe). See Report of Task Force No. 10, American Indian Policy Review Commission, for further details on reservations in New England.

[5] The Tunica-Biloxi Tribe in Louisiana has over 100 acres remaining of a Spanish land grant.

[6] The People Speak: Will You Listen? Report of the Governor's Indian Affairs Task Force, State of Washington, p. 10.

[7] Ibid., p. 11.

[8] Scott Ryerson, "The California Indian," p. 2. (Unpublished paper)

[9] See Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas, U.S. Department of Commerce, latest edition, for dates of establishment of various reservations and rancherias and the authorities under which they were established.

[10] The Western Oregon Termination Act included about 60 nonrecognized groups according to Charles Wilkinson, University of Oregon Assistant Professor of Law, in a paper prepared for Task Force No. 10 of the American Indian Policy Review Commission; see footnote 28 of that work. The Act is at 25 U.S.C. Secs. 691-708.

[11] See transcript of hearing held in Boston, Mass., April 9-10, 1976, by Task Force No. 10, American Indian Policy Review Commission for testimony of Maine Indians, pp. 1-171-201, pp. 1-226-235, pp. 1-235-239, pp. 1-375-377, pp. 1-377-end of Volume I, pp. 2-163-225.

[12] Title IV, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1972, Public Law 92-318, 20 U.S.C. 887c, as amended by Education Amendments of 1974, Public Law, 93-380, 88 Stat. 484, 585.

[13] Public Law 93-203, 87 Stat. 839.

[14] Title VIII, of the Headstart, Economic Opportunity, and Community Partnership Act of 1974, 88 Stat. 2324, 42 U.S.C. 2991.

[15] Computations of Task Force No. 10, American Indian Policy Review Commission. See Report of Task Force.

[16] Ibid.

[17] See footnote 3.

[18] *Indian and Native American Programs, Fiscal Year 1976 Report*, U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 3.

[19] 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 17 (1831).

[20] 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 561 (1832).

[21] Murray J. Crosse, "Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction in Indian Country," 4 *Arizona Law Review* 57 (1962-63).

[22] *McClanahan v. State Tax Commission*, 411 U.S. 164 (1971).

[23] Crosse.

[24] Solicitor's Opinion of April 22, 1936 with regard to the Applicability of the Social Security Act to the Indians.

[25] Thomas N. Tureen, "Federal Recognition and the *Passamaquoddy* Decision," a paper prepared for Task Force No. 10 of the American Indian Policy Review Commission, Washington, D.C. pp. 8-10.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[27] Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, p. 77. See also 16 Stat. 544, 566, 25 U.S.C. 71.

[28] Tureen, p. 16.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

[30] Act of November 2, 1921, 42 Stat. 208, 25 U.S.C. 13.

[31] Act of April 16, 1934, 48 Stat. 596; Act of June 14, 1936, 49 Stat. 1458; Act of January 4, 1975, P.L. 93-638, Title II, 88 Stat. 2213; 25 U.S.C. 452, et seq.

[32] Tureen, p. 17.

[33] Charles F. Wilkinson, "The Passage of the Termination Legislation," a paper prepared for Task Force No. 10 of the American Indian Policy Review Commission, Washington, D.C., p. 1.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] U.S. Congress. Final Report of the Task Force on Terminated and Non-federally Recognized Indians, American Indian Policy Review Commission, p. 1694.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Cohen, p. 43.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[40] Wilkinson, p. 16.

[41] Public Law 93-197, Act of December 22, 1973, 87 Stat. 770, 25 U.S.C. Secs. 891-898.

[42] Wilkinson, p. 25. See footnote 212, citing Cohen.

[43] Cohen, p. 273.

[44] Act of August 1, 1956, 70 Stat. 893, 25 U.S.C. Secs. 791-807.

[45] 25 U.S.C. 803.

[46] It should be noted that under the California Rancheria Act, the section 3(c) provisions for the Secretaries of Interior and HEW to construct, improve, install, extend, or provide sanitation and domestic water systems prior to the Secretary of Interior conveying any land, were not fulfilled for certain rancherias. These rancherias, therefore, are not officially terminated and should be receiving Federal Indian benefits. The Bureau of Indian Affairs currently is reviewing this situation, and the Sacramento Area Office already has recommended that certain rancherias, including Hopland Rancheria, be declared unterminated and brought back into the BIA service population.

[47] See pp. 4 and 5.

[48] *Kimball v. Callahan*, 493 F. 2d 564 (C.A. Oregon, 1974), cert. denied 95 S. Ct. 491, 419 U.S. 1019, 42 L.Ed. 2d 292.

[49] If the federally recognized Indian has been moved to the city through the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Employment Assistance Program, then services and benefits are available for a limited period of time after reaching the city.

[50] Richard M. Nixon, Message of the President of the United States to Congress, July 8, 1970, 116 *Congressional Record* 23131.

[51] U.S. Department of Commerce, *We, The First Americans*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974, p. 4.

[52] Ibid., p. 5.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., p. 8.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., p. 10.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. 11.

[63] U.S. Department of Commerce, Subject Report: American Indians, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, June 1973, pp. 2, 3, and 4.

[64] Ibid., p. 61. Computation total for 16 years and over minus total for 65 years and over to provide total 16-64 years old.

[65] 210,166 is 54.1 percent of 388,210.

[66] U.S. Department of Commerce, Subject Report: American Indians, supra. See pp. 27, 36, 149, 151, 152, 153, 155, 159, 161, 162, 163, and 165.

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